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Participative management: A critical analysis

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PARTICIPATIVE MANAGEMENT: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

A Dissertation

Submitted

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Education

Approved:

Dr. Fred D. Carver

Dr. Donald L. Hanson

Dr. John Smith

Dr. Charles Dedrick

Dr. Jerry Stockdale

Dr. Steven Corbin

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University of Northern Iowa

July 1987

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An Abstract of a Dissertation

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Approved:

Fred L. Carver

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ABSTRACT

Development of the open-systems view of organizations has made participative management an attractive alternative to traditional bureaucratic methods of managing. The purpose of this dissertation was to determine whether it is possible to generalize about the effects of participative management. Given empirical generalizations, it would be possible to make recommendations for practicing school administrators.

Utilizing the framework of Locke and Schweiger (1979), the author took a purposefully selected cross-section of studies on participative management. The empirical evidence was analyzed in four subsections: laboratory studies, correlational field studies, multivariate experimental field studies, and controlled experimental studies. It was concluded that the results were equivocal, with studies demonstrating the effectiveness and ineffectiveness of participation in relation to productive efficiency and satisfaction.

A far smaller body of literature exists concerning the effects of participative management in educational organizations. Generally, teachers gain satisfaction from involvement and influence over decisions affecting instruction.

The author concluded that the empirical evidence was equivocal, therefore it was impossible to form generalizations to guide practice. Two explanations for the ambiguous findings were presented. First, the studies as a whole were methodologically flawed, exhibiting the following characteristics: absence, or

poor operational definition of terms; poor internal and external validity; insufficient data on instrument reliability; contamination by the researcher, or other extraneous variables. Second, the studies were based on the epistemologically erroneous assumptions of the positivist paradigm. From the interpretive paradigm which views organizations as the constructed reality of members, it is impossible, even with the most sophisticated research design, to identify the "facts" about participation. The discovery of inconclusive evidence was, therefore, inevitable.

Despite the absence of irrefutable empirical evidence, managers should consider participative practices for philosophical reasons. Classical democratic theory, leadership as a moral concept, and the changing nature of the Western social character, were presented as ideological connotations of participation in decision making. John Dewey believed that the very organization of schools provides learning experiences for children on how to treat one another. Embracing this idea, the dissertation closes with open-ended questions to be debated by administrators and teachers considering participative management.

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It seems only fitting that the last words I write in this dissertation express my gratitude to those people who encouraged my scholarship. My committee: Dr. F. Don Carver for guidance and advice, and for knowledge of the development of educational administration; Dr. John K. Smith, who, as mentor and friend, showed an interest in the philosophy of science which was the inspiration for this dissertation topic; Dr. Jerry Stockdale, for his incisive critique of philosophical and sociological issues, and diligent scrutiny of earlier drafts; Dr. Donald Hanson, Dr. Charles Dedrick, and Dr. Steven Corbin, for their constant encouragement, and confidence in my abilities.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation is to critically review the conceptual and empirical literature on participative management. An attempt is made to determine whether or not predictive generalizations may be developed about effects of adopting such management practices.

Publication of A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century by the Carnegie Foundation 1986, has brought the issue of teacher participation in school management to the forefront of education debate. The report might be considered controversial since it recommends dramatic restructuring of school organization. It advocates a more diverse staffing structure for schools, designed to capitalize on the knowledge, skill, and experience of the most able teachers. Each school would form a body of "lead teachers" who would

> coordinate the work of the school's entire instructional staff, including the assignments of other teachers, instructional specialists, and tutors. They would be invested with much greater responsibility and authority for students' learning experiences, and they would be held accountable for the performance of the entire school (Tucker & Mandel, 1986, p. 24)

Implementing such a proposal would require a change in the traditional authority structure of the school, and a re-definition of the teacher-administrator relationship.

These recommendations are but one manifestation of a larger issue: securing for teachers a greater degree of involvement in

the work they do and the manner in which it is executed. This notion of participation is woven through the fabric of what is euphemistically termed "The Effective Schools Research." Authors including MacKenzie (1983) and Purkey and Smith (1983) have explained that of the many schools studied, those which were effective were readily distinguishable. Such schools were staffed by teachers who held high expectations for their students. Teachers, administrators, and students seemed to share a common sense of purpose. In addition, the environment created a sense of safety and order which was conducive for learning. These features of effective schools (a point which has been keenly debated by others such as Ralph & Fennessey, 1983; Rowan, Bossert, & Dwyer, 1983), seem to imply a need for coordinated corporate effort in contrast in individual action.

The issue of worker participation has not been restricted to the education forum in the United States. In some European countries interest in the concept has led to calls for greater industrial democracy (Foy & Gaddon, 1976). West Germany and the Netherlands have legislation intended to ensure that workers are given a voice in the management of their organizations (Miller & Form, 1980). Within the United States those striving for greater participation in industry have traditionally concentrated their efforts on obtaining rights for collective negotiations. In the 1980's, however, American businesspeople have become far more aware of the management practices of one of their major competitors, the Japanese.

Interest has focused particularly on the "widely heralded 'quality circle' technique which has become something of a fad with American Managers today," in the view of Sashkin (1982, p. 9).

The much acclaimed book, In Search of Excellence (Peters & Waterman, 1985), is a further indicator of the business community's intrigue with worker participation. The authors describe, in considerable detail, the management practices of some of America's most successful corporations. Emphasized throughout the book is the concept of culture. Although difficult to describe, culture is to be a conglomerate of shared values and beliefs, a sense of common purpose, and goals which are accepted by all organizational members. Indeed, culture is the adhesive which holds the organizational structure together. This same culture concept was considered by Sizer (1984) in his book, Horace's Compromise. Following a detailed ethnographic study of schools in different geographical locations, the author concluded that the "good schools" exuded a pervasive sense of common endeavor. Reading about these successful schools and corporations and the cultures which they support, one gains a sense of participation and willing involvement by all concerned.

This considerable interest in participation exists in different areas of the national economy, and has been spurred in part by development at the international level. Focusing specifically on education, in an attempt to assess the implications for school management, the following question must be posed: "What has been learned from almost fifty years of study?" (Conway, 1984, p. 31).

Since there is ample evidence that ". . . we know surprisingly little about participation as a social phenomenon" (Greenberg, 1975, p. 191) and that ". . . almost everyone who employs the term [worker participation] thinks of something different" (Locke & Schweiger, 1979, p. 117) an extended answer to Conway's question is in order.

Statement of the Problem

In light of the growing interest in participative management, and the ostensible confusion over the meaning of the concept, this author will review and critique significant empirical and conceptual literature on the topic. An attempt will be made to synthesize the findings of this research and to present a more lucid understanding of the concept. Such a synthesis is important because researchers' efforts ". . . have been directed at one variable or another, or yet another, but we lack a comprehensive analysis which systematically relates the many issues which have emerged. . ." (Lowin, 1968, p. 68). The merits of such an undertaking are further supported by Conway (1984) who addressed participative decision making in education: "The need to clarify the status of the knowledge about participation is more pressing than ever before. It is an area of management that begs for more systematic attention both through research and analysis" (p. 12).

General Chapter Outline

As several extensive summaries of previous research on participation are already available (Conway, 1984; Locke & Schweiger, 1979; Dachler & Wilpert, 1978; Melcher, 1976; Greenberg, 1975;

Bucklow, 1966), this dissertation will not engage an exhaustive review of the literature. If for no other reason "The PDM [Participation in Decision Making] literature is so enormous that to achieve a 'complete' review is virtually impossible" (Locke & Schweiger, 1979, p. 280). Accordingly, the concept will be examined in the following manner.

Chapter One establishes the context for the remainder of the study. The growth of interest in participation in the contemporary educational setting is explained. Similar developments in business and industrial settings, at the national and international level, are described. Finally, the need for an analysis of the available literature is elaborated.

Chapter Two explains the theoretical foundations of participative management by tracing the evolution of management thought to the present day. Next, consideration is given to various forms of participative management and a model is presented which describes the various degrees of participation which may be appropriate in prescribed situations. Finally, certain guidelines and cautions are issued for those considering implementation of participative management.

Chapter Three is based on the comprehensive review of empirical studies conducted by Locke and Schweiger (1979). Taking the large number of studies as the total population, the researcher draws a purposefully selected cross section and analyzes the primary source materials. Particular attention is paid to the definitions,

findings, and conclusions of these studies; where appropriate the suitability of the methodology will be considered. To conduct this analysis the classification system of Locke and Schweiger (1979) is utilized: laboratory studies, correlational field studies, multi-variate experimental field studies, and univariate (controlled) field studies. The purpose of this chapter will be to present contemporary empirical conclusions about participation.

Literature for educational practitioners which discusses participative management invariably refers to empirical studies conducted in non-education settings. However, Conway (1984) identified a smaller number of studies carried out in school settings. Chapter Four reviews and presents the findings of these studies. Finally, a brief comment is made about the sufficiency of empirical evidence for guiding practice.

Chapter Five considers philosophical issues related to research methodology in the social and behavioral sciences. The empirical evidence on participative management is analyzed in light of these issues.

Chapter Six summarizes the main empirical and conceptual ideas presented in this dissertation. Philosophical connotations of participative management are considered. A conclusion is drawn about the evidence supporting and opposing participative management.

CHAPTER II

PARTICIPATIVE MANAGEMENT: GENESIS AND EVOLUTION

Introduction

To understand participative management conceptually and practically it is helpful to be aware of the circumstances which led to its development. This chapter concisely synthesizes the evolution of management thought by describing various significant organizational theories. Given this context, contemporary views of participation can then be elaborated. Finally, selected examples are presented which illustrate the practical application of the previously outlined principles.

The Evolution of Management Thought

Descriptions of the evolution of management thought may be found in almost any book about management and organizational behavior (e.g., Hoy & Miskel, 1986; Snyder & Anderson, 1986; Hitt, Middlemist, & Mathis, 1983; Owens, 1981; Hanson, 1979; Luthans, 1977; Rogers & Agarwala-Rogers, 1976; Etzioni, 1964). It is commonly agreed, that the Industrial Revolution was the catalyst which invoked the study of management practice as a discrete discipline. The need existed to develop greater efficiency in production and more scientific approaches to managing and organizing workers.

Classical Theory is a collection of similar ideas on the management of organizations that evolved in the late 1800's and early 1900's. Underlying these ideas was the basic assumption that human beings were motivated by economic incentives.

Consequently, they would chose rational courses of action which would maximize economic rewards. Classical theorists believed that managers could appeal to these desires by a logical and rational structuring of jobs and work. Three distinct branches within classical theory have been identified.

Frederick Taylor, a former steel company engineer, sought ways to use people effectively by conducting time and motion studies in relation to the physical capabilities of workers. In 1911, he published his results in Principles of Scientific Management. Taylor was firmly convinced that efficiency could be increased by applying the following principles: (a) applying scientific measurement to break down jobs into a series of small, related tasks, (b) using more scientific and systematic methods for selecting and training workers, (c) establishing a clear division of responsibility between management and workers, (d) defining clearly the daily task of each worker, and (e) relating pay directly to performance. In that Taylor ignored their psychological and sociological needs, he viewed workers as "extensions of the industrial machine."

A second group of classical theorists focused less on the relationship between the worker and task, and more on the total organization. Unlike the "scientific managers," the "administrative theorists" were interested in the departmental division of work and coordination. Henri Fayol, a French industrialist, divided management practice into five activities: (a) planning,

(b) organizing, (c) commanding, (d) coordinating, and (e) controlling. He identified a list of fourteen basic management principles for achieving an efficient organization. Among these principles were: unity of command, division of work, authority and responsibility, and morale.

Lyndall Urwick and Luther Gulick expanded Fayol's work by explaining that the division of labor and specialization should meet the following requirements: workers pursuing similar goals within an organization should be attached to the same division; all work based on a particular process should be grouped together; all work directed to serve a specific group of clients should be in the same division; and work performed in the same geographical area should be performed together. To ensure efficiency, coordination and supervision would be essential. Urwick and Gulick referred to "span of control," or the number of workers supervised, and suggested that the optimal number of subordinates for each supervisor lay between five and ten.

The writer most frequently associated with the third branch of Classical Theory, "bureaucracy," is Max Weber. He observed that many organizations were attempting to become more efficient and effective through rationalization. To study these organizations more closely, Weber developed the "ideal-type bureaucracy," a model that could be used for comparison to actual bureaucratically organized systems. He characterized the ideal-type as follows: (a) a division of labor by functional specialization, (b) a well

defined hierarchy of authority, (c) a system of rules covering the rights and duties of employees, (d) a system of procedures for dealing with work situations, (e) impersonal relations between people, and (f) promotion and selection based on technical competence. Acknowledging the technical advantages associated with such an organizational structure, Weber also presented serious disadvantages in terms of individual isolation and alienation.

Although "scientific management," "administrative theory," and "bureaucratic organization" are all district branches, a common thread binds them to Classical Theory. The universal aim was to develop a set of specifications which would serve as a blueprint for optimal organizational efficiency.

The next significant stage in the evolution of management thought, in reaction to the classical position was the Human Relations Movement (Owens, 1981). The theories presented by human relations theorists were based, in great measure, upon research conducted at the Hawthorne Plant of Western Electric Company in the late 1920's and early 1930's. Rothlisberger, Dickson, and Mayo, designed a series of experiments to investigate the attitudes and reactions of workers to their jobs and their environment (the specific details of these experiments will be presented in Chapter Three). After the initial studies, the researchers discovered that contrary to expectations, employee output was not primarily related to physical lighting conditions. Following further research, they realized that performance was related to the social relations

which existed in the work groups. Despite the official job specifications, the groups developed informal social structures with norms, values, and sentiments which had a far greater impact on individual behavior. The results of the Hawthorne experiments challenged many of the basic assumptions made by classical theorists:

> 1. Economic incentives is not the only significant motivator. In fact, non-economic social sanctions limit the effectiveness of economic incentives.
> 2. Workers respond to management as members of an informal group not as individuals.
> 3. Production levels are limited more by the social norms of the informal organization than by physiological capacities.
> 4. Specialization does not necessarily create the most efficient organization of the work group.
> 5. Workers use informal organization to protect themselves against arbitrary management decisions.
> 6. Informal social organizations interact with management.
> 7. A narrow span of control is not a prerequisite to effective supervision.
> 8. Informal leaders are often as important as formal supervisors.
> 9. Individuals are active human beings, not passive cogs in a machine. (Hoy & Miskel, 1986, pp. 14-15)

Another "land-mark" study into work-group behavior was conducted by Coch and French (1948), who found that democratic leadership greatly affected workers' attitudes to their jobs. The management at Harwood Manufacturing Company had experienced great resistance from workers when improvements in procedures had been proposed. Coch and French believed that the resistance was not only due to frustration derived from changed work habits, but also to peer pressure not to adapt too quickly. To test their hypothesis, Coch and French took workers whose jobs were going to be changed and divided them into three groups, matching the subjects to assure similarity. The first group was given no orientation to the change

besides a short announcement by management that the change would be made. The second group were told about the impending change and were asked to select representatives to help devise the necessary retraining program. The third group was told about the change and the reasons which made it necessary. This time, the whole group participated in designing and planning the new jobs and restructuring.

The results were indeed significant. The two groups which had participated adapted to the change quite quickly while the first group did not. In addition, while production in the first group declined, production in the participation groups increased. The increase in production was positively related to the degree of participation. In a follow-up several months later, the first group was required to change once more. This time however, they were allowed total participation. The same successful adaption to change manifested by the participation group in the first experiment was once more observed.

As a consequence of empirical research, proponents of the human relations movement emphasized the importance of: (a) Communications between the ranks, explaining to lower participants the reasons for particular courses of action; (b) participation in decision making, including lower ranks in higher level decisions which affect them directly; and (c) exercising democratic leadership (Etzioni, 1964, p. 38). These proponents challenged the assumption of the classical theorists that the most efficient organization would also be the most

satisfying one, maximizing productivity and satisfying workers through optimum earnings. Human relations theorists believed management would have to take steps to encourage development of social groups in the work setting and provide them with democratic, participative, and communicative leadership. By relating the organizational structure to the social needs of the employees, the happiness of the employees would be safeguarded, encouraging their full cooperation and effort, and consequent organizational efficiency.

The differing views of classical theorists and human relations advocates are clarified by the concepts of formal and informal organization. Formal organization generally refers to the organizational structure designed by management, the blueprint of division of labor and power of control, the rules and regulations about reporting procedures, quality control, etcetera. Informal organization refers either to the social relations that develop among the members beyond the formal ones determined by the organization, or put differently, to the actual organizational relations as they evolved as a consequence of the interaction between the organizational design and the pressures of the interpersonal relations among participants (Etzioni, 1964, p. 40). Owens (1981) presented the distinction quite succinctly with the following generalization: classical concepts focus on organizations without people, human relations concepts deal with people without organizations (p. 20).

In the period following World War II enthusiasm for the human relations approach waned considerably as many workers' organizations come to view it as another management tactic aimed to pacify and hence control workers' action (Hanson, 1979, p. 11). This fading confidence ran concurrently with the development of more sophisticated conceptualizations of behavior in organizations. This sophistication was largely due to contributions made by scholars from behavioral sciences such as psychology, sociology, political science, and economics. These new perspectives recognized dynamic interrelationships between the structural characteristics of the organization and the personal characteristics of the individual. This attempt to mesh the divergent prospective of the classical theorists and human relations adherents constituted the third stage in the evolution of management thought, the "Systems Perspective."

Hanson (1979) quoted Parsons and Shils who described a system as follows: "The most general and fundamental property of a system is the interdependence of parts or variables. Interdependence consists of the existence of determinate relationships among the parts or variables as contrasted with randomness of variability" (p. 148). In essence, organizations were conceived as being interdependent elements, both formal and informal. Early systems theorists believed that behavior within organizations was the sole consequence of forces which operated "within" the organization. This became known as the "closed-systems" view. In the early 1960's however, behavioral scientists began to move toward an "open-systems"

view, as they began to realize that not only were organizations influenced by external forces but in fact they were dependent upon them.

Hoy and Miskel (1986) identified three competing systems perspectives. Grounded in classical theory, the "rational-systems" view presented organizations as formal instruments designed to achieve specific goals. Specific goals were a key element in any organization facilitating the rational development of formal structure and efficient allocation of resources. Equally important was formalization, that is, development of specific rules and job codification which would govern role relations independent of the personalities involved. Such goal specificity and formalization would allow decisions to be based on fact and prediction as opposed to sentiment.

A second systems view was that of "natural-systems." Its advocates considered organizations to be primarily social groups, which reflected their affinity for the earlier human relations movement. While acknowledging the existence of goal specificity and formalization in organizations they did not consider them to be of primary determinants of behavior. The most significant concern of all organizations was survival and maintenance of equilibrium. They did not believe that organizations were made distinctive by their goals and structures, but by the individual members within them. Unlike the human relations movement, natural systems adherents were aware of the interplay between the organization and its

environment which they considered to be a "critical stabilizing element sustaining and legitimating the mission of the organization" (Hoy & Miskel, 1986, p. 19).

The "open-systems" view is the third and most contemporary perspective. Organizations, in Hanson's (1979) opinion are structured by an entire network of major and minor event-cycles which are interdependent, reinforcing, and together make up the whole system. The patterns of events which comprise the cycles tend to be stable over time, but when a shift occurs, change takes place. The dynamic relationship between the organization and its environment is frequently presented in terms of inputs, transformation, and outputs. Consider the school as an example of an organization. It receives input from the environment. These inputs include human and material resources, as well as various constraints such as legal requirements and social norms. The transformation of the resources involves the teaching-learning process and its many derivative activities including reward systems and evaluation strategies. The outputs for a school are intangible and include learning gain, attitudinal change, and behavioral change. To maintain the dynamic and reciprocal relationship with the external environment, various feedback mechanisms operate which enhance the flow of communications; in a school, a parents association would represent such a mechanism.

A new theoretical position emerged as an off-shoot of open systems theory, stressing that variability in environmental needs

and demands required variability in organizational responses. "Contingency theory" as this new line of thought was called, emphasized that: ". . . there is no one best way for designing jobs, organizations, or tasks; specific circumstances of a specific situation determine the best choice or decision" (Hanson, 1979, p. 164). It is quite clear that management thought had changed considerably since the "organization blueprints" presented by classical theorists.

Summary

This section has presented a concise synthesis of the evolution of management thought. At the turn of the century, classical theorists developed an organizational model based upon a hierarchy of authority, division of labor, and rigid rules and procedures. The worker was viewed as an extension of the machine, and every employee was expected to obey orders and decisions without question. As researchers become more aware of the influence of the informal organization and social relations on worker behavior, managers began to realize the needs of the individual would have to be addressed. Studies by Coch and French (1948), supported by later theories of worker motivation by Maslow (1954) and Herzberg, Mausner, and Snyderman (1959), indicated that participation allowed workers to influence decisions which affected them. With the advent of the systems view, stressing the dynamic nature of organizations and their need to respond to changes in the environment, came the final realization that the alleged existence of a universally

effective structure and management style was a fallacy. There was a growing acknowledgement that some degree of participative management was both necessary and desirable.

Conceptual Considerations

Locke, Schweiger, and Latham (1986) have noted that if participation is to be used effectively, then the mechanisms by which it works and the conditions under which those mechanisms are most likely to operate, must be clearly understood. They identified motivational and cognitive mechanisms operating during participation. Motivational mechanisms included such factors as trust, greater control of work, more ego involvement in the job, increased identification with the organization, more group support, and most important, the setting of higher goals and/or goal acceptance. Cognitive mechanisms encompassed greater upward communication, improved use of information, and better understanding of employees of the job and rationale underlying decisions.

Many writers have used participative management and participative decision making as if they were equivalent terms. This tendency may have originated with Herbert Simon who stands as one of the significant figures in the development of management thought. Simon stated: "I shall find it convenient to take mild liberties with English language by using 'decision making' as though it were synonymous with 'managing'" (1964, p. 199). Marshall Sashkin (1984a) deviated from this position, by identifying four varieties of participation in management. First, was participation in

goal-setting, where workers as individuals or in groups worked with their supervisors in determining, to some degree, the goals they would attempt to reach with respect to work performance and output. Second, was participation in decision making. In this case subordinates would examine and evaluate previously determined alternatives. The form of participation could range from consultation, through exerting some influence on the outcome, to actual responsibility for the decision itself. The third variety was participation in problem-solving, which Sashkin considered to be more difficult than the first two varieties. In this instance subordinates were required to use analytical skills to process information and creative abilities to formulate new ideas. The fourth and final variety of participation in management was participation in developing and implementing change. In this case management and employees would work together to generate, analyze, and interpret organizational data in order to develop specific innovative solutions to organizational problems.

Sashkin (1984a) proceeded to present three different forms which participation could take: (a) with respect to specific individual subordinates, (b) in the context of a superior-subordinate partnership, and (c) in a group context. Sashkin recommended that the form of participation be decided on the basis of two questions posed by Maies: (a) "Will acceptance or rejection of the solution to the problem by any of the workers involved in carrying out the solution make a difference in how well it is carried out?" and

(b) "Is the quality of the solution of concern to management?" (p. 232). If acceptance was important, it would be beneficial to provide workers with some means of influence or control over the solution which was selected. Similarly, if quality was important and acceptance was uncertain, then a group problem solving approach would be appropriate.

Participation in goal setting and decision making could give workers a greater sense of control over work activities and prompt them to be more committed to a given course of action. Participation in problem solving often precipitated additional benefits, as involvement in new aspects of their job gave greater meaning to the work itself. Furthermore, problem solving represented a "complete work task activity" requiring the gathering of information, interpretation of information, development of alternatives, and implementation of strategies. Research evidence indicates that involvement in a complete cycle of task activity may have positive effects on satisfaction.

Sashkin's conviction to the merits of participative management were reflected in his statement:

> After fifty years of formal research-and thousands of years of experience-there is no doubt that participative management is effective in terms of performance, productivity, and employee satisfaction. . . . Why then should managers bother with participative management? One answer is that doing so is more efficient, as well as more productive, in the long run. (pp. 238-39)

Being proponents of participation and aware of the open-systems view of organizations, Victor Vroom and Phillip Yetton (1973)

developed and tested a contingency model of participative decision making. The model contained five alternatives for involving subordinates in decisions and seven decision rules that determined the conditions under which each of the five alternatives would be effective. The five alternatives were: (a) make the decision yourself using available information, (b) obtain the necessary information from subordinates, but make the decision yourself, (c) get ideas and suggestions from individuals separately and then make the decision, which may or may not reflect subordinates' input, (d) share the decision with subordinates as a group, and make a decision which may or may not reflect their input, and (e) share the decision with the group and make the decision together.

A decision tree was provided which allowed the best alternative to be selected based on several decision rules. The issues to be considered included: (a) whether the decision had a high quality requirement, (b) whether the leader had sufficient information to make a high-quality decision, (c) whether the problem was structured, (d) whether acceptance of the decision by subordinates was essential for effective implementation, (e) whether an authoritative decision would be accepted, (f) whether conflict among subordinates was likely in the decision, and (g) whether subordinates shared the organizational goals to be attained in making the decision. The amount of time available in which to make a decision also should be considered.

Vroom and Yetton (1973) were convinced that the effectiveness of a particular decision making alternative was determined, in part, by the conditions under which it was implemented. Their research indicated that decisions made using the rules were frequently of better quality and more successful than those made when violating the rules.

Hinckley, Jr. (1985) identified several principles for optimizing any mode of participation: (a) participation should be considered temporary and not permanent, based on the skills and knowledge needed for a specific task; (b) participation should fluctuate in an organization to counteract the boredom which accompanies routine and to tap the enthusiasm and energy generated by involvement in something new; (c) participation requires time, so individuals should have their work loads adjusted accordingly; (d) participation must be rewarded to encourage those involved to continue devoting their best efforts; (e) choosing the appropriate time to begin increasing participation is important, since change often increases individual and organizational stress in the short term; (f) changing to participation requires the support and understanding of people at many levels in the organization, without it there may be negative repercussions; and (g) establishing an optimum level of participation will require careful structuring of peoples' role and task relationships so that agendas and degrees of participation in all modes are clearly specified. Hinckley closed his article with the following statement: "For both employees

and the organization, participation is beneficial when it results in more positive attitudes and increases commitment that, in turn, increases individual and organizational capacities to learn, adopt, and develop toward higher levels of excellence" (p. 66).

In light of the ideas of Hinckley, Jr. (1985), Sashkin (1984a), and Vroom and Yetton (1973), this author endorses the opinion that participation is a multi-modal concept. As such, participation would be more accurately conceptualized in terms of management, than in terms of decision making alone. It is misleading to use decision making as though it were synonymous with managing.

In a different vein, Mohrman and Ledford (1985) outlined numerous benefits which may accrue as a consequence of participation. They stressed however, that not all participation groups are successful. When failures occur it is not due to a weakness in the concept of participation, but due to a breakdown in the design and implementation process. The key to success lay with the "degree of fit" between the form of participation and the context in which it occurred. Introducing participation to a highly bureaucratic and centralized structure would probably require change within all levels of an organization for success to ensue.

To achieve a successful fit, participation groups must overcome two challenges. First, they must become proficient at group problem solving, which will take time and practice. Second, the groups must establish an effective and significant role in an organization which already has an intact decision making structure. Such groups must

achieve legitimacy and results in order to ensure continued resource provision and approval for their ideas.

Based on empirical research conducted in nine units of a major corporation, Mohrman and Ledford (1985) specified certain design guidelines for participation groups. First, they must include or have access to necessary technical skills and knowledge, to permit systematic analysis of problems. Second, formalization of processes and procedures will enhance operational effectiveness. The specific nature of these processes should be determined by the individuals concerned according to the demands of their situation. Third, careful attention should be given to the integration of the groups with the larger organization. Horizontal and vertical linkages should be established and maintained to keep those outside the groups informed about their progress and achievements. Fourth, to avoid the development of an in-and-out group mentality and resultant hostility and suspicion, it is advisable to make membership in a group available to all interested people. Evidence suggested that use of intact work groups instead of subsets of volunteers was associated with success. This was due in part to the fact that the intact work group was a regular unit in the organization and not a special extra.

In conclusion the authors reiterated that participation groups must become an integral part of an organization and not a mere appendage:

> . . . the establishment of effective and stable group participation in organizations represents and requires a

> relatively profound culture shift, involving changes in the roles of managers and work groups, development of new skills, increased lateral and vertical integration in the organization, and increased teamwork. (Mohrman & Ledford, 1985, p. 423)

A wealth of literature describes workers' desires for greater involvement, outlines the benefits of participation, and elaborates various forms of participation. Despite the theoretical and conceptual support, application of the concept frequently provokes resistance. Managers opposed the concept on the grounds of lost profitability as inefficiency, according to Marchington and Loveridge (1979). In their opinion, managers were frequently resistant to suggestions for participation believing it would result in lost profitability and inefficiency. Many managers claimed that the external environment changed so rapidly that they needed the freedom to make snap decisions at short notice. Increasing worker participation would impede their ability to make instant responses. The authors suggested however that such explanations were merely a convenient excuse: "Although the effect of external circumstances cannot be overlooked, we suggest that managers may often legitimize non-participative behavior by reference to market constraints and economic efficiency. But underlying this rationalization, there is frequently the pervasive effect of management ideology" (p. 179).

The authors explained the underlying ideology in terms of a traditional belief among managers that they had certain prerogatives by right of their greater expertise and experience. (This belief is of course founded in the classical theory of management outlined previously in this chapter.) The authors were not alone in this

opinion, quoting Miller and Form to support their position: "Top management is a highly self-conscious group whose ethnocentricism leads them to believe that they have special gifts and attributes not generally shared by the population. The greatest of these is the ability to manage and organize people" (Marchington & Loveridge, 1979, p. 180).

Marchington and Loveridge (1979) explained that this ideology was so pervasive that mangers used participation to achieve personal goals. Believing that workers had to be placated such methods made it possible to manipulate them toward managements way of thinking. Approached in this way, suggestions for greater participation from management have sometimes received a less than favorable response from the work force.

Clegg and Wall (1984) in their consideration of participation within levels as opposed to between levels, presented what could be termed the "paradox of participation." They explained that organizations which functioned in relatively predictable contexts, for example a stable product market, had a light "information processing load." Operation could be efficiently guided by formalized rules and procedures, so there was little scope for participation as a continual mode of decision making. Establishment of participation systems in such circumstances was often considered superficial and restricted, and would not be self-sustaining. The impediment was fundamentally one of "impoverished content."

In contrast, organizations which had to face uncertain conditions had heavy information processing loads, since continued operation required constant adjustment and continual decision making. Such circumstances presented great scope for participation systems. Ironically, the typical organizational response has been differentiation and the emergence of specialist groups. Staffed by people with specific professional training and standards, and with frequently dissimilar perspectives, attitudes, behaviors, and languages, coordination of activities to meet overall goals has been severely impaired.

Hence the paradox of participation: "the very circumstances which promote a need and opportunity for employee participation, at the same time encourage the organization to structure itself and function in a way which severely constrains the effectiveness of this way of making decisions" (Clegg & Wall, 1984, p. 438). Participation systems have failed on occasion because they have been introduced under inappropriate conditions. When conditions have been appropriate however, participation systems have not been introduced due to structural impediments and territorial defensiveness.

Practical Considerations

To this point in the chapter attention has focused upon the development of participation as a concept, and its subsequent elaboration in theoretical literature. Now attention will be given to the application of theory to practice.

Publications, and particularly journals for practicing managers, are replete with varied descriptions and explanations of participative decision making/management (Bernstein, 1983; Dickson, 1982; Scanlan & Atherton, 1981; Turney & Cohen, 1980; Davis, 1963). Two articles, Dixon (1984) and Hollmann and Ullrich (1983), are representative of this body of literature.

Dixon (1984) stated that workers want jobs which are interesting and challenging. They need to feel that they are making a meaningful contribution to the organization. They also desire greater responsibility on the job as well as a stronger voice in decisions which affect them, their work, and work setting. Dixon indicated that in response to these aspirations, managers should give employees more chances to participate in matters relevant to their jobs. Workers should be responsible subsequently for the decisions they make.

The article was intended for the owners of small businesses but was equally applicable for middle level managers. Several approaches were presented for increasing the level of participation. First, participation in goal setting. Employees could be encouraged to offer suggestions and alternatives before the owner made the final decision. Conversely the owner could establish guidelines and permit the employees to make decisions within them. If this latter approach were adopted, several cautionary notes were sounded: (a) the owner must be confident that employees will participate responsibly; (b) the owner should clarify the decisions to be made,

the boundaries to be observed, and also the degree of involvement required; (c) the owner should emphasize that she/she retains the right to reject decisions, but should only do so having explained the reasons; (d) the owner should not force participation since this would be counterproductive; (e) goals should be specific, stated in quantitative terms, reviewed periodically, and modified as necessary; and (f) all employees should be committed toward attaining the identified goals but jobs should not be jeopardized by meeting them.

A second means of increasing participation was job design. Tasks could be "enlarged" by adding one or more new functions so increasing variety and counteracting boredom. Workers would also rotate between jobs which individually could prove repetitious. Jobs could also be "enriched." By giving employees greater responsibility for decisions about planning and control of tasks to be accomplished, workers gained increased autonomy. Such feelings of independence may be enhanced by permitting flexible work hours, with employees deciding when to start and stop work so long as a specified number of hours are worked in a given period of time.

"Quality circles" was the third means of increasing participation. Basically small groups of workers engaged in the same activity would meet periodically to discuss quality control problems. The aim would be the improvement of productivity, product quality, morale, and profitability. The owner would have to be committed to make rapid responses to the suggestions made.

Hollmann and Ullrich (1983) were adamant that before selecting one of these approaches, discussions should take place between owner and employees. They also dispelled the myth that participation would reduce the owners' power and control of their own businesses. On the contrary, carefully planned participation would build a climate of trust and teamwork which would lead to greater motivation among employees and commitment to the decisions in which they were involved. Owners should impress upon employees the increased responsibility which accompanied participation. Unsuccessful decisions should be followed by considered analysis and tolerance, with the goal of improvement and not apportionment of blame. Greater responsibility should be accompanied by greater rewards. Owners would have to seek ways of recognizing employees efforts and showing genuine appreciation. Finally, owners should exercise patience, allowing employees as well as themselves the time to adjust to new methods.

Continuing in similar vein, Dixon (1984) outlined some of the complexities connected with participative management. First, a comprehensive information system is required to provide timely feedback on organizational performance. Individuals and groups are only able to make responsible decisions if they have management level information on the extent to which performance goals have been achieved. Each group should record and report details of its own performance. The information must be timely so that performance can be analyzed and adapted as necessary.

Second, the composition of groups is vitally important. Employees at all organizational levels should be represented so that all have an opportunity to share in decision making. Meetings should not be dominated by management, and workers should chair discussions occasionally. If worker comments and contributions have been guarded, managers should not attend some meetings to allow those with reservations to speak freely. Such group meetings may serve several valuable functions: (a) to identify new or recurrent problems, (b) to seek solutions to problems, and (c) to exchange important information. Groups should be in no doubt regarding the extent of their decision making authority:

> True representation occurs only when groups have the power to act upon their decisions. . . . The extent of a group's responsibility is less important than is clarity about what decisions a group can make and the level of support provided for the decisions that are made. (Dixon, 1984, p. 6)

Third, time must be spent identifying a sense of purpose for the organization which is shared by all members to a greater or lesser degree. The reason for this is that people generally invest greater effort striving for something to which they feel committed.

Fourth, and perhaps most important of all for the success of participative management, is the manager's beliefs about the nature of human behavior. Hollmann and Ullrich (1983) described briefly the theory of Douglas McGregor, "Theory X and Theory Y," and stated that a manager who implemented participation while holding Theory X assumptions, would be attempting to manipulate and control the

employees. Such attempts, if discovered would have serious consequences for the organization.

The convoluted nature of participative management, so apparent in the theoretical literature, was reflected once again in articles intended for the practicing manager. Hollmann and Ullrich (1983) stated:

> Participative management is not itself a goal to be achieved; rather it is a process that an organization can use to achieve the goals that the total organization values.
> It cannot be overemphasized that participative management is more complex than simply allowing employees to make some decisions. (p. 8)

Summary

This chapter has presented a brief synthesis of the evolution of management thought from the classical theorists, through the human relations movement, to the systems views which still persist today. Appreciation of the complex interrelationships between the organization and environment have evoked a contingency approach to management. Understanding the influence of social groups on the operation of organizations and the need for structural flexibility induced the concept of participation. Sashkin (1984a) described several forms of participation, and Vroom and Yetton (1973) developed a model to help managers determine what degree of participation would be appropriate in prescribed conditions. Several cautions were issued for those considering participative management. This author admonishes practicing managers, not to view participative management as a simple gimmick to be used, and set aside at will. Such an approach may lead to negative worker reactions, and a

deterioration in relationships. Managers would be well advised to heed the words of Hollman and Ullrich (1983):

> Participative management is not itself a goal to be achieved; rather it is a process that an organization can use to achieve the goals that the total organization values. It cannot be over emphasized that participative management is more complex than simply allowing employees to make decisions. (p. 8)

CHAPTER III

PARTICIPATIVE MANAGEMENT IN INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Introduction

In Chapter Two, a number of major studies were reviewed. These studies, which are frequently referenced by contemporary writers on management, organizational development, and group behavior, provide the context for Chapter Three. In this chapter, a considerable body of empirical research on the effects of participative management will be reviewed. The intent is to assess the extent to which this evidence makes it possible to form generalizations about the consequences of adopting such practices.

Participative Management: Theoretical Frameworks

Various structures have been employed in the attempt to bring some order to the immense amount of literature on this topic of participative management. Lowin (1968) used a framework provided by eighteen direct hypotheses which he believed were associated with the efficacy and effectiveness participation in decision making. In a comprehensive review of literature from 1924 to 1968, he defined participation in decision making as "a mode of organizational operations in which decisions as to activities are arrived at by the very persons who are to execute those decisions" (Lowin, 1968, p. 69). He argued that subordinates were motivated to participate to meet ego-needs of achievement, autonomy, power, and self-realization. In addition, financial incentives, and opportunities to bring meaningfulness to their work through job

enrichment, were powerful reasons to participate. Managers on the other hand, while driven by ego-need fulfillment and financial incentives, had other motives to participate. Such a practice held the possibility of: improved quality of organizational decisions dealing with technical aspects of the system; greater worker commitment, since participation fosters social pressures not to renege on a position; increased productivity; pressure from subordinates to consider decisions more carefully.

Greenberg (1975) presented a framework based on four major schools of thought which approached participation from clearly divergent perspectives. First, the "Management School," which viewed participation in terms of productivity. The rationale was that by increasing participation it was possible to reduce job fragmentation and alienation, and to increase morale which in turn lead to higher worker output. Second, the "Humanistic Psychology School," which saw in the work environment a set of conditions which were not conducive for the healthy development of the individual worker. Ethical as well as practical arguments were presented for greater participation. The third school based its arguments on "Democratic Theory." Protagonists contested that democracy was based upon participation as its primary form of governance. However, the democratic personality could not emerge if environments prohibited the emergence of participatory modes of behavior. The fourth school was the "Participatory Left." This group saw participation as a vehicle to heighten the political

awareness of the populace. The goal was to educate the working class to an anti-capitalist, revolutionary consciousness.

Melcher (1976) structured his critical reviews of findings on participation, by analyzing "several classic research studies" (p. 12), chronologically. His purpose was to provide an understanding of background as well as tc correct some possible misinterpretations of those studies.

A very thorough and complex analysis of participation in organizations was presented by Dachler and Wilpert (1978). In reference to the extensive literature on participation, the authors stated:

> It has become increasingly difficult, to disentangle the many and often contradictory issues which are discussed in this literature. No clear set of questions, let alone a set of answers, which begin to define the nature of the participation phenomenon are discernible. (p. 1)

In order to clarify some of the issues, they developed a multi-dimensional framework for exploring studies and related references on participation in decision making. The four broad dimensions of participation were: Dimension 1: Referred to the social theories underlying participation, representing the basis for the values and assumptions as well as the goals and objectives of those designing and implementing participatory social arrangements; Dimension 2: Involved the properties of participatory systems. Key variables included formal-informal participation, direct-indirect participation, the level of accessibility to the making of a decision, selected attributes of the decisions (content, importance,

and complexity), and the social range within the organization (i.e., selected members, groups, departments, and so forth involved); Dimension 3: Considered the contextual boundaries of the social environment which limited or enhanced the potential of participatory social systems. It included: the characteristics of the society, the other organizations with which the focal organization interacted, the focal organizations characteristics, and the particular nature of the groups and individuals within the focal organization; Dimension 4: Examined the individual, group, organizational, and societal outcomes which resulted from Dimensions 1, 2, and 3.

Clearly then, a number of theoretical and conceptual frameworks have been developed to facilitate a systematic review of the literature on participation. In this case the work of Locke and Schweiger (1979) has been selected as the basis for organizing the review. The reason for this is that contemporary authors (Sashkin, 1984a; Hoy & Sousa, 1984) find their work to be the most recent and comprehensive one available.

Participative Decision Making: Empirical Evidence

Locke and Schweiger (1979) evaluated the effectiveness of PDM in terms of two broad criteria: (a) direct effects categorized as productive efficiency and included worker production, quality of decisions and products, and cost effects; and (b) indirect effects categorized as satisfaction or morale and included job satisfaction, levels of absenteeism and worker turnover, and interpersonal conflict. They considered each of these broad criteria separately

within four subsections: laboratory studies, correlational field studies, multivariate experimental field studies, and controlled experimental studies.

A purposefully selected cross section of the 75 empirical studies referenced by Locke and Schweiger are discussed. Again, the issue is whether or not these studies allow one to make generalizations about the probable effects of PDM. Following a review of all the studies, the researcher drew a cross section for closer analysis according to the following criteria:

1. Studies which, as far as possible, were conducted with populations which were white-collar or professional. This facilitated subsequent comparisons with teachers and administrators;

2. Studies which reflected chronologically the changes which have occurred in management thought over the past half century;

3. Studies which indicated PDM had positive, negative, or no-effect on productive efficiency and satisfaction;

4. Studies which were available as primary resource material.

Laboratory Experiments

Lanzetta and Roby (1960) monitored the performance of Air Force basic trainees as they attacked various problems. Their purpose was to determine the relationship between various characteristics of group structure and process, and execution of problem-solving tasks. They discovered that strong forces internal to the group affected performance, measured in terms of time taken to solve each problem and the number of errors committed. Groups demonstrating the best

performances were characterized by: volunteering of information, relatively even distribution of leadership and participation, congruency between leadership and ability differentials. Generally, the most able group members exerted the most influence on decisions, but other members were fully informed and maintained some measure of control. Measures of intellectual ability and knowledge were obtained, but the contribution of these variables to the variance in performance scores was relatively minor compared to measures of structure and procedure. The authors concluded that participation was superior to other forms of problem solving, so long as the most able members exerted the most influence in decision making.

Maier and Sashkin (1971) attempted to identify specific leadership behaviors which promoted problem solving. They cited previous research which indicated that the most effective solutions were those which integrated the ideas and opinions of all parties involved. Such integrated solutions tended to be the most creative and were greeted with the highest degrees of acceptance. Maier and Sashkin believed that leaders typically attempted to persuade workers to adopt the solution which they had developed, and such practices resulted in resistance and confrontation. Consequently they constructed a laboratory experiment to determine whether integrated solutions were more likely to develop if leaders were trained in group decision making.

One hundred and six groups of undergraduate students were presented with a scenario involving "work-redesign." Seventy-seven

groups had received no training in group decision making and were termed "untrained." Twenty-nine groups, termed "trained," had been exposed to the concept of group decision making and the desirability of integrated solutions. Results indicated that the trained groups produced integrated solutions far more frequently and were characterized by a free-flow of ideas. The untrained groups had leaders who withheld information and attempted to solicit support for the solution they professed.

This author cannot criticize the idea that integrated solutions should be of higher quality since they have necessitated the consideration of a larger number of alternatives. However, Maier and Sashkin referred to the benefits of training leaders to develop certain behaviors which would help them to develop such integrated solutions. The purpose of the experiment was to determine the effect of such training. Paradoxically, the trained group members were not exposed to a specific training program, they were merely "aware" of the concepts as a result of a class in industrial psychology. Consequently, one cannot draw conclusions based on this experiment about the effect of training in specific leader behavior on the development of integrated solutions.

The effects of varying degrees of participation on performance evaluation were studied by Torrance (1953), working with fifty-seven combat air-crews. The crews, which ranged in size from ten to fifteen men, were asked to solve two problem situations intended

to test common sense. Once completed, the performance was critiqued using one of the following methods:

1. Unstructured, non-authoritarian. The crew discussed its own performance, with the experimenters stimulating discussion but providing no guidance.

2. Directive, expert critique. The experimenters provided specific feedback on performance and made suggestions for future consideration.

3. No critique.

4. Self-critique. A period of fifteen minutes was provided for the crew to critique its performance, the experimenter left them alone and played no part.

5. Structured, non-authoritarian. The experimenter used a set of rating-scales to report performance and used them as a guide to encourage the crew to evaluate itself and discover more effective ways of performing.

Crews critiqued under more authoritarian, structured conditions showed greater improvements in subsequent problem solving exercises than crews critiqued by less structured means. Indeed there was no significant difference between the performance of these latter crews, and the control group crews which received no critique at all.

Given the number of crews involved, one could conclude that there was an inverse relationship between degree of participation in critical and subsequent performance. However, caution should be exercised before making generalizations to other populations.

First, the crews had been together for varying lengths of time prior to the experiment. Consequently, their knowledge and opinions about each other, as well as degrees of expertise, may well have varied significantly exerting influence on the outcome. Making a comparison between a crew of four months exposed to the self critique method, and a crew of two years exposed to the structured authoritarian method, could produce variations in performance results due to length of service and not mode of critique. Second, the crews were fully briefed before the experiment about its purpose, and this may had influenced subsequent performance. Third, the critiques were conducted by three different experimenters. Variations in their technical abilities as well as their communication skills may also have had a bearing on subsequent performance.

Whether groups are more efficient than individuals in solving problems has long been a cause of debate. McCurdy and Lambert (1952) addressed the question with a controlled laboratory experiment in which groups attempted to identify the correct combination of switches required to illuminate a bulb. Performance was measured in terms of the number of incorrect switches turned before the bulb was lit. Results indicated no significant difference in performance between groups and individuals working alone. In addition, comparison between groups with a specified leader who gave instructions, and groups without a designated leader, also failed to produce significant differences. The authors explained

the results by suggesting that inattentiveness on the part of some members may have impeded performance. It was also likely that in problems where reasoning and discovery were necessary, group performance reflected the efforts of the most capable individual member.

Replicating this study, McCurdy and Eber (1953) attempted to study groups whose members' personalities tended toward authoritarian or democratic. These groups were led by people coached in authoritarian or democratic patterns of behavior. The researchers hypothesized that groups where the personalities and leader behavior were congruent would outperform groups where these variables were incongruent. No significant difference in performance was observed, authoritarian groups however, performed slightly more effectively than democratic groups. The authors concluded ". . . if any difference among the groups has been demonstrated it is not such a difference as to favor democratic over authoritarian organization for the purpose of problem solving" (p. 268).

Group problem solving was further investigated by Calvin, Hoffmann, and Harden (1957). They tried to determine whether a permissive social atmosphere would prove beneficial for subjects with high levels of intelligence. Thirty-six undergraduate psychology students were selected (unknown to them) on the basis of their intelligence, to take part in the problem solving game "Twenty Questions." Four groups were formed: authoritarian-dull, authoritarian-bright, permissive-dull, and permissive-bright.

Their performance was recorded in terms of the number of questions asked to solve each problem, and the proportion of problems solved. Two environmental conditions were created. In the "authoritarian" environment, the experimenter posing the problems wore a dark suit and business tie, the seating was arranged in rows in traditional classroom fashion, the experimenter stood at a lectern, and was very concise and business-like in all his dealings with the group. The "permissive" environment was in stark contrast. The experimenter was informally attired and showed overt enjoyment during relaxed exchanges with members who were seated informally in a circle. Analysis of the data revealed no significant difference between the groups. Generally, the more intelligent groups performed better under permissive conditions while the less intelligent favored the authoritarian conditions.

A major question which arises out of this study relates to the independent variable. Did the subjects involved perceive the atmosphere to which they were exposed as "authoritarian" and "permissive"? There was no attempt to determine whether the manipulations had created the desired conditions. One also questions whether similarities should be assumed between authoritarian and permissive social atmospheres, and autocratic and democratic leader behaviors; Locke and Schweiger (1979) appeared to consider them synonymous concepts.

Shaw and Blum (1966) studied the effect of leadership style on group performance and its relation to task-structure. The

theoretical basis for their work was Fiedler's Contingency Theory which suggested that "directive" leadership would be more effective when the group task situation was either highly favorable or unfavorable. "Non-directive" leadership was more effective when the task situation was in intermediate ranges of favorableness.

Ninety male undergraduate students were assigned to one of eighteen five-member groups. Each group attempted the same three tasks which varied in terms of favorability. One member of each group was briefed via printed instructions as to desired leader behavior. Half were instructed to direct and control, the other half to be permissive and non-directive.

Results showed that directive leadership was more effective in terms of time taken to complete problems, when the situation was highly favorable and the task highly structured. Where tasks required various approaches with no single solution non-directive leadership was the more effective approach.

This was a well conducted experiment based upon a famous theory of leadership. Caution should be exercised before generalizing to other populations. A major weakness was the failure of the researchers to describe in detail the written instructions given to the designated leaders. Consequently, it is impossible to identify the specific behaviors which brought about these results. As a consequence it would be difficult to make recommendations to people in leadership positions with any degree of confidence.

In the studies cited to this point, productive efficiency has been the dependent variable under investigation. A number of researchers have focused on satisfaction as the dependent variable and attempted to explore possible relationships with participation.

Fox (1957) used a 2x2x2 factorial design to explore group reactions to variations in style of conference leadership. The researcher formed four groups of nine college students equated in terms of sex, grade point, size and location of home town, marital status, and major area of study. Each group was presented with two discussion topics which had been identified as controversial and interesting, following a survey of the general student body: "Should negroes be admitted to white American colleges, if so, under what conditions?"; "Should anything be done about so-called professionalism or commercialism in inter-collegiate football and basketball, if so, what?" Two discussion leaders were trained to assume each of two distinctive roles. "Positive leadership" was a role characterized as: drawing on the group for ideas or agenda; attempting to encourage interaction among members by limiting the amount of leaders verbal activity, demonstrating non-emotional recognition and understanding of ideas and comments from the group; attempting to remain matter-of-fact in expression of personal attitudes by the leader; encouraging compromise; and willing acceptance of group solutions by each member as a substitute for decisions by vote. "Negative leadership" was represented by the following leader behaviors: preparing agenda and procedures for

the group unilaterally; using diplomatic persuasion to sell the leader's ideas to the group, acting as an expert informant; clarifying and summarizing but in a manner favorable to the leader's position; and attempting to relieve group tension in a crisis by imposing leader authority on the group.

The effects of these leadership roles upon the participants were measured and documented using the following: observer ratings of discussions to indicate the quality of interactions among members; pre- and post-discussion measures of attitudes to determine the degree and direction of change; post-meeting questionnaires to gauge participant satisfaction with the solutions reached; a fifteen item post-problem questionnaire administered one week later to indicate group permissiveness; participant satisfaction with solutions; attitude changes; and satisfaction with discussion leadership, friendship formation, popularity of group members, intra group communication, and competition.

Results indicated that groups under "positive" leadership consistently required more time for completion of discussions. Positive leadership was considered superior to "negative" leadership in that it created: a more permissive and friendlier atmosphere, greater member satisfaction with the leader's performance, greater member satisfaction and acceptance of group solutions. When asked both leaders strongly favored the positive leadership role.

One is drawn to conclude that a participative approach to discussion leadership will lead to a higher level of satisfaction

among those involved. Consequently, if satisfaction is a desired outcome then participative leadership should be adopted. Before making such bold generalizations the following factors should be considered. First, the students involved were told that participation would account for 25% of their final course grade. It is possible that the 36 students who volunteered from the population of 117 were unrepresentative, in that their grades for the semester to that point may have been quite low. With the foreknowledge that their grades would be affected, their responses to the questionnaires may have been biased. Second, the terms positive and negative leadership are value-laden. It is not clear from the description of the experiment whether these titles were given to the group leaders during their training. If this were the case, it may have exerted considerable influence on the manner in which these roles were enacted during the discussions, swaying the resultant member reactions to them.

Wexley, Singh, and Yukl (1973) attempted to determine whether an individual's need for independence and authoritarianism affected the relationship between the degree of participation the individual was permitted during an appraisal interview, and his/her level of satisfaction with the interview and motivation to improve subsequent performance. Four groups of students were formed varying in their need for independence and authoritarianism. Their level of participation was varied by exposing them to graduate interviewers who had been trained to use three interview styles: "Tell and Sell,"

the interviewer tells the subject their strengths and weaknesses and attempts to persuade him to follow suggestions for improvement; "Tell and Listen," interviewer points out strengths and weaknesses and then listens as the subject expresses feelings about the evaluation; and "Problem-Solving," the interviewer uses non-directive open-ended questions to encourage the subject to express ideas and possible solutions.

The results of this role-play experiment suggested that subjects should be allowed to participate to a large degree regardless of their need for independence or authoritarianism. Satisfaction and motivation were higher under the "Problem-Solving" mode of interviewing than either of the other forms. As with many experimental studies, there are limitations on the ability to generalize from these results. First, it is extremely difficult to re-create the relationship between a superior and subordinate which would exist in a genuine work situation, in a laboratory setting using graduate and undergraduate students. In addition, the consequences of an appraisal interview and the pressures these might place upon those involved during the interview process, could not be represented in this simulated activity. Second, in this study, as with many others, there was the danger that the subjects suspected the desired outcomes and responded accordingly. This is a particular concern since the subjects were students in the author's classes.

In their work, Locke and Schweiger (1979) identified two studies which had focused on both productive efficiency and satisfaction. Shaw (1955) explored the effects of authoritarian and non-authoritarian leadership upon performance and morale of groups in various "communication nets" (that is, varying arrangements of communication channels among group members). Forty-eight groups of four students were required to do some simple math problems by communicating via written messages with other unseen members of the group. One member was designated leader and given written instructions about how to act in an authoritarian or non-authoritarian manner. After the problems were solved, members were given rating scales to indicate how well they enjoyed their role and how they would classify their leader along an authoritarian-non-authoritarian continuum.

Analysis indicated that measuring performance in terms of the time taken to produce correct results, groups led by authoritarians were the more effective but had lower morale than non-authoritarian groups in the same communication net. Reaction to this experiment should be guarded. The researcher failed to explain the nature of the leadership instructions given to the designated members, consequently it would be difficult to replicate the procedures used. He also used the terms morale and satisfaction synonymously throughout the report but failed to define them or explain how they were measured. Finally, Shaw (1955) did not indicate whether the subjects were controlled for the independent variable

mathematical ability. It is possible that the variations in performance were due to variations in ability and not leadership style as he suggested.

Katzell, Miller, Rotter, and Venet (1970) were also interested in the effects of leadership on various group processes and outputs. Seventy-six, three member groups of undergraduate psychology students played the parlor game "Twenty Questions," attempting to solve the problems with a minimum number of questions, and in the shortest time. Three independent variables were manipulated. First, "leader directiveness" was varied by the researchers who were rotated among the groups serving as leader. Under "directive" conditions, the leader gave suggestions, opinions, and ideas. As a "non directive" leader, the experimenter asked for information, opinions, and suggestions. Second, "task difficulty" was manipulated by varying the complexity of the problem nouns. Third, "compatibility" was varied, by giving a questionnaire to all subjects prior to the exercise, seeking biographical data, opinions to certain issues, and responses to several sentence completion items. Some subjects were told subsequently that the members of their group should enjoy success and perform efficiently since they were highly compatible. Other subjects were warned not to expect too much from their group due to members incompatibility.

The authors reported that directive groups were more effective than non-directive groups. The effects of directive leadership appeared to be relatively high rates of interaction, a more

supportive personal climate, and less groping for information and control. Productivity was directly related to compatibility of group members. Contrary to expectations no statistically significant interaction effects occurred between the independent variables. Finally, the authors suggested that directive leadership generated less satisfaction on the part of the members than non-directive leadership.

Once again it is important to question the generalizability of these results. First, the authors make claims about the effects on satisfaction and yet failed to identify it as a dependent variable under investigation. They made a very bold claim which was unsupported by a definition of the term or explanation of how the construct was measured. Second, it is important to note that the problems presented to the groups all had specific answers. One could not justifiably make claims about the relative degree of appropriateness of using directive leadership in situations where groups were attacking problems where no definitive answers existed.

Conclusion

In conclusion to their sub-section on laboratory studies, Locke and Schweiger commented that with respect to performance there was no overall difference between participation in decision making and more directive methods. With respect to satisfaction, results tended to favor participation. A more definite stance is appropriate. Based upon the laboratory studies reviewed, it is impossible to formulate firm conclusions about the affects of

participation on performance or satisfaction. First, performance was not measured in the same manner in all the experiments; how can one compare the time taken to illuminate a colored bulb with the number of correct responses made in a word game? Second, satisfaction is a poorly defined construct in many of the studies. Third, all the experiments, except Lanzetta and Roby, 1960, were conducted with university students. This situation makes it highly questionable to make generalizations about the likely effects of participation on workers in commercial, industrial, and educational settings based upon the available experimental evidence.

Correlational Field Studies

All the studies in this section were conducted in field settings. Locke and Schweiger stated, "We define the term 'correlational' broadly in this context to mean any method which correlated observed differences on one attribute or behavior with observed differences in another without having manipulated the hypothesized cause" (1979, p. 285). The reader is advised to remember this broad definition, since some of the studies reviewed were clearly not correlational in the strict statistical sense of the term. As with the laboratory experiments, the outcome variables of interest were productive efficiency and/or satisfaction.

Mahoney (1967) administered a questionnaire to 84 managers in thirteen organizations, asking them to identify factors related to organizational effectiveness. One hundred and fourteen variables were presented, which were later classified into 24 dimensions.

Seven dimensions appeared to be mentioned most frequently: development, reliability, staffing, planning, cooperation, performance-support, utilization, initiation. The managers explained that an organization which emphasized effective planning would probably be productively efficient. Such organizations need not necessarily be characterized as having democratic supervision or decentralized decision making, contrary to common beliefs in the importance of such practices for efficient performance.

The major shortcoming of this study was the failure to provide an objective measure of performance. This fact, coupled with variations in the type of organizations involved, made it difficult to determine the relative importance of the innumerable variables identified.

A similar approach was taken by Stagner (1969), who surveyed 500 vice presidents of 125 large firms. Data indicated that profits were related to formal bureaucratic procedures in decision making, managerial cohesiveness, and centralized decision making. Participative practices were considered satisfying and profitable. Unfortunately, the specific practices were not explained, and satisfying was not defined.

Baumgartel (1956) conducted a study at a large medical research organization, which was far more methodologically sound than those studies cited previously. The researcher identified three independent variables:

1. Task relevance--the degree of fit between the leader's skills and motivations and the primary goal of the organization.

2. Leader behavior in the decision process--(a) laissez-faire, the leader has little influence over subordinates and vice-versa, subordinates believing that they are expected to make decisions alone; (b) participatory, frequent contact and mutual influence between leader and subordinates, with decisions made based on joint discussion; and (c) directive, leader exerts great influence on subordinates who believe that they will be told when decisions have been made.

3. Conformity of leader's role to the preference of subordinates--the degree of discrepancy between the leader's actual behavior in decision making and the subordinates preferences in this regard. The dependent variables of interest were: task motivation, sense of progress toward organizational goals, and subordinate attitudes toward their leader.

Results showed that reader task relevance was strongly associated with the subordinates scientific motivation and sense of progress toward the organization's goals. In addition, there was a tendency for subordinates under participatory leaders to feel a greater sense of progress and motivation, and possess more favorable attitudes toward them. Significantly, the conformity of the leader's behavior to the preferences of the subordinates, had the most consistent positive influence on the scientists attitudes toward him/her.

This study raised the possibility that the suitability of specific decision making practices may be determined by the nature of the organization and the preferences of the subordinates. In so doing, it was a precursor of the contingency theories of leadership and organization. If that were the case, it would make it very unwise to make general proclamations about the desirability of any one specific practice. Baumgartel's comment emphasizes this point: "The effects of leadership are highly specific to the motivational and attitudinal factors presented in this study" (1956, p. 31).

Argyle, Gardner, and Cioffi (1958) studied the relationship between supervisory methods and productivity, absenteeism, and labor turnover. Productivity was measured in terms of the number of units produced in a given time, and also a subjective "effort rating" for each individual engaged in work activity. Results showed that a combination of general supervision, democratic practices, and non-punitive tendencies were related to high productivity at the .01 level of significance. Absenteeism was lower under democratic practices, but was not related to any other supervisory methods.

Attempts to make recommendations based on this research should be cautious. The measurement of productivity was questionable for two reasons: first, no explanation was given as to how the effort rating was determined, clearly this subjective judgment may have exerted a significant influence on the assessment of productivity

for a given department; second, the study involved 90 departments in eight different firms, and the authors admitted they had been unable to control the influence of variations in technology on productivity. A further limitation of this study was its failure to describe in detail the specific supervisory methods involved. Consequently the reader is left to make personal interpretations of terms like general supervision.

In a very thorough longitudinal study conducted over a three year period, Mullen (1965) investigated the effects of different leadership approaches on productivity in three divisions of a large auto insurance company. Based upon extensive open-ended interviews and attitude surveys of subordinates, as well as thoroughly documented observations by the researcher over three years, an integrated picture of the personalities and methods of the three division managers was developed. The managers were presented as follows: Manager A: permissive--employee centered, liberal interpretation of company policy, attempted to accommodate employees needs by overlooking certain rule violations, was honest, open, and considerate; Manager B: recessive--withdrew from active, explicit control of subordinates, was less articulate than his peers; Manager C: authoritarian--energetic, demonstrated self confidence, enforced rules to the letter, used close supervision. Mullen proceeded to pursue possible relationships between these varying leadership approaches and several measures of effectiveness. Following the attitude surveys, morale and job satisfaction were

highest among workers in the division managed by A. The least satisfied worker, operated under the authoritarian leadership of manager C. Despite differences however, 80% of the subordinates felt their respective managers were competent and reasonably effective in managing their divisions. On the basis of a company "performance rating formula" and cost-profit measures, manager B appeared to have the most effective division in quantitative terms. Further statistical analysis of employee turnover and absenteeism revealed no significant differences between divisions. Mullen concluded that despite higher levels of acceptance and morale within the division run by a permissive manager, it was unable to achieve any higher levels of performance than the division run by an authoritarian manager.

This was an extremely well conducted piece of research over an extended period of time using several different sources of data and means of collection. This researcher is uncertain, however, why Locke and Schweiger (1979) included it in their synthesis of literature on participative decision making. Although a brief portrait of manager A is provided and he is considered permissive, no details are given regarding the decision making practices operating within his division. One can clearly detect a "humanistic" approach to leadership, but a causal connection with participative practices should not be made.

Vroom (1960) found that the relationship between participation, satisfaction, and effectiveness was mediated by the personality

characteristics of those involved. Tosi (1970) replicated Vroom's work by surveying five hundred managers of consumer finance offices across the nation. Like the original study a relationship was identified between participation in decision making and satisfaction, however there were no mediating effects for either variable. Tosi explained the different outcomes by proposing several alternatives. First, the manager may have had different values, interests, and personality characteristics from the package delivery supervisors in Vroom's study. Second, the organizational structures were quite different. The loan managers worked alone, from widely dispersed offices, while the supervisors operated from only two locations. The variations in results of these two studies adds significance to Mullen's (1965) comment:

> Further study may lead to the conclusion that the leadership phenomenon cannot be reduced to a simple formula without badly distorting reality. If we are to learn to understand the process of leadership more fully we must know more about the environment and the way in which the interplay of personality, leadership methods, and various environmental factors influence and effect total performance. (p. 124)

Miles and Richie (1971) expressed the belief that the majority of research on participation had been concerned with the extent to which it had been employed. In their opinion not only the "degree" of participation but the "nature" of the superior-subordinate interaction should be considered. They mailed an extensive questionnaire to 381 managers from five levels in six geographically separate operating divisions of the same West coast firm. Three variables were measured: quantity of participation, quality of

participation, and satisfaction with superiors. The majority of the respondents were reasonably satisfied with their immediate superiors, however the level of satisfaction was related to the quality of participation they were allowed. Managers classified as low in the extent to which they were consulted by superiors were less satisfied than those classified as high on this dimension. Managers whose superiors showed high trust and confidence in them (suggesting that the quality of participation was high) were significantly more satisfied than managers whose superiors were participative in their approach and yet showed low confidence in the subordinates during interactions. This study indicated that research studies which concentrate solely on the quantity of participation may produce results which in part are due to the quality of participation. Making recommendations for a certain level of participation based on such studies could lead to unexpected outcomes.

Unlike the previous study which focused on managers, the study by Ley (1966) was concerned with male production workers at a television tube manufacturing plant. An attempt was made to identify relationships between labor turnover, worker differences, the work environment, and the authoritarianism of the foremen. A sample of 100 hourly paid production workers who had terminated their employment within their first year of employment were compared with a similarly selected sample of 100 who had maintained employment for more than one year.

Data revealed that workers who terminated within their first year were younger, had more jobs in the previous two years preceding employment with the company, and had higher hourly wages on their previous job as compared with workers who maintained their employment for more than one year. The single most influential factor related to turnover was the degree of authoritarianism exhibited by the twelve foremen of the work sections.

On the face of it, one could conclude that there was a positive relationship between turnover and authoritarianism. Moving one stage further, the unwary might state that to keep a stable workforce, supervision must be democratic. This is a bold statement, but literature for practicing managers is replete with such assertions. On closer inspection however, serious flaws in this study came to light and consequent questions about the generalizability of the findings. First, the authoritarianism of each foreman was determined by the rankings of the three plant supervisors on a scale from least to most authoritarian, with a composite ranking derived for each foreman. Second, each supervisor was allowed to use his/her personal interpretation of authoritarianism since no standard definition was provided. In light of this evidence, the reader should not conclude that worker turnover was related to the authoritarian behavior of their foremen, since the workers were not given the opportunity to register their perceptions of their foremen's behavior. Furthermore, no statistical analysis was carried out to investigate the possible

existence of interaction effects among the various dependent variables.

Alutto and Acito (1974) replicated a study conducted by Alutto and Belasco (1972). The earlier study was conducted with teachers in New York and will be explained in detail in Chapter Four. The 1974 study was conducted with blue-collar workers in an industrial setting to study the relationship between participation in decision making and sources of job satisfaction. A questionnaire was administered to 75 workers with sections focusing upon participative decision making, job satisfaction, and attitude toward the company, organizational commitment, job tension, interpersonal trust, and authoritarianism.

Decision making was measured using the "deprivation-index" which was developed during the earlier study. The index indicated the disparity between a worker's preferred level of participation and actual level of participation in each of seven decision making situations:

1. Order of performing work when several tasks are to be done;
2. Work to be done next when a given piece is completed;
3. Time limits and schedules;
4. Checking and redoing work;
5. Pay rates;
6. Work-day starting and ending times;
7. Evaluation of new employees during probationary periods.

Job satisfaction was a composite measure of attitudes toward the nature of the work, the supervisor, pay, and promotions.

Analysis of responses indicated that the greater a worker's decisional deprivation i.e., the larger the disparity between preferred and actual levels of participation, the more negative were attitudes toward the company. In addition, organizational and job commitment decreased and job related tension increased. All aspects of job satisfaction were negatively correlated with the degree of deprivation. The most satisfied workers were those who were in "decisional equilibrium" where their desire for participation was equal to their actual participation.

This was a commendable study using an instrument which had been extensively tested. All of the variables under investigation were operationally defined and procedures clearly explained. The authors stressed however, that no causal relationships should be deduced. This study could not address the issue of whether participation lead to greater satisfaction or satisfaction lead individuals to believe that desired decision making practices already existed.

A similarly thorough piece of work was conducted by Lischeron and Wall (1975a) who investigated employee attitudes toward: participation in specific managerial decisions, different forms of participation, participation in relation to job satisfaction. A sample of 127 blue collar workers was randomly selected from a work force of 450 local government employees involved in maintenance of public facilities in northern England. A survey instrument was

administered containing questions about nine key decision areas which emerged following open-ended discussions with the managers and supervisors of the subjects. The following decisions fell into two distinct levels:

Medium Level Decisions:

1. Hiring and firing of employees.
2. Training of employees.
3. Promotion of employees.
4. Purchase of materials.
5. Purchase of equipment.

Distant Level Decisions:

1. Hiring and firing of managers.
2. Budget spending.
3. Overall organizational policies.
4. Purchase and construction of new buildings and facilities.

Separate instruments, the "Worker Opinion Survey" and the "Job Description Index" were used to measure employees' satisfaction with respect to the organization, the work itself, supervisor, pay, promotion, co-workers, and overall job satisfaction.

It was clear from the responses that workers experienced little involvement in decision making but felt that as a group they should have as much influence as management. In medium level decisions, the workers wanted participation through personal contact with the management, while in distant level decisions they felt that representation through a Works' Council would be appropriate.

Workers who perceived a high level of involvement in decision making also indicated high levels of satisfaction with the organization. The least satisfied workers tended to be those expressing the strongest desire for greater participation.

As with most of the methodologically sound studies reviewed by this author, this study stressed the importance of resisting the temptation to generalize beyond the sample. Since the decision instrument was developed to present decisions which were relevant to these workers, this also restricted the authors' abilities to generalize to other populations. The authors indicated the importance of developing an instrument to meet the requirements of the group surveyed, in order that subsequent development and implementation of participation schemes might fulfill the expressed desires of those concerned.

By way of a contrast to the clarity of Lischeron and Wall's work (1975a) the study of Schuler (1977) was analyzed. The researcher investigated the relationship between role perceptions, employee satisfaction, performance, and the moderating effects of organizational level and participation in decision making. The results demonstrated that higher participation was associated with higher levels of satisfaction with work when combined with higher role ambiguity or higher role conflict than when combined with lower levels of those role perceptions. Although complex and sophisticated in terms of the number of variables being investigated and the statistical analysis employed, this study shed little light

on the question of the effects of participation. The author failed to define any of the variables in operational terms making it very difficult to form any conclusions beyond those already presented.

The studies cited thus far found a positive relationship between participative practices and level of employee satisfaction. Vroom and Mann (1960) put this relationship to the test with their study of the effects of leader authoritarianism on employee attitudes. These researchers compared the attitudes of "parcel delivery drivers" toward their authoritarian supervisor, with the attitudes of the "parcel positioners" (who organized the parcels into loads for the varying truck routes) toward their authoritarian supervisor.

Surprisingly both samples were satisfied with authoritarianism which was contrary to expectations based on previous research. Closer investigation indicated that the two groups perceived their authoritarian supervisors differently. The drivers saw their supervisor as less participative, exerting more pressure, and providing structure. The positioners however saw their authoritarian supervisors as more participative, reluctant to exert pressure for performance, and sensitive to their needs and feelings.

Vroom and Mann (1960) explained these discrepant perceptions by pointing out the higher level of interaction among workers and between workers and supervisors as well as the need for interdependence which characterized the positioners. Given these factors it was important for the supervisor in charge to be able to coordinate their activities and deal with interpersonal problems.

The supervisors had very little contact with the drivers, however, and were unable to supervise their work directly. All encounters were limited to the exchange of job related information. Consequently, the supervisor had to emphasize personal power and influence and provide clear cut instructions. It seems, therefore, that the reactions of workers to the behavior of their supervisors was determined in part by the nature of the work and the manner in which it was carried out. This suggests that studying participation solely in terms of the quantity of interactions may provide an incomplete explanation of its effects. In spite of their interesting discovery, Vroom and Mann (1960) said of their results: "The study must remain inconclusive" (p. 138).

Sadler (1970) also was interested in employee's reaction to leadership style. Unlike Vroom and Mann (1960), however, he surveyed white collar staff in two British companies, one concerned with research and development, the other with marketing. Four leadership styles were presented: "Tells," manager makes decisions alone and presents them to the staff; "Sells," manager makes decision and then tries to persuade others to accept it; "Consults," manager does not make a decision until the problem has been presented to the group for them to offer suggestions and opinions; and "Joins," the manager merely defines the limits within which a decision must be made but delegates the decision to the group. Employee responses to questions about these styles were related to replies describing

managerial behavior, and to measures of job satisfaction, satisfaction with the organization, and confidence in the management.

The results showed that most of the employees were able to describe their own managers in terms of one of the four styles. The style preferred most frequently was consults. Generally managers demonstrating a distinct and identifiable style were considered more effective in providing confidence and satisfaction among employees, than managers who were not considered to possess a specific style. Satisfaction was related to the extent to which a manager led in the way an employee preferred. Finally, those employees registering the lowest levels of satisfaction had managers whose style was Tells.

This study once again emphasizes the dangers inherent in making bold recommendations for or against participative management. In spite of the large sample (1,587 were surveyed), no single leadership style commanded majority support. If the results of this study are compared with those of the study by Vroom and Mann (1960), one is drawn to conflicting conclusions. In the former, a leader who "Tells" had the least satisfied employees, and yet such behavior was the preference of the delivery drivers in the latter study. These conflicting results emphasize the great difficulties encountered when one attempts to make generalizations based upon empirical evidence alone.

Conclusion

Locke and Schweiger (1979) concluded that based on the correlational studies reviewed there was no overall difference between participative and non-participative leadership in terms of productive efficiency. This claim is questionable. It was apparent that productive efficiency was defined differently by several writers (Stagner, 1969; Mullen, 1965; Argyle, Gardner, & Cioffi, 1958). Consequently it is difficult to draw a general conclusion about the relationship between participation and productive efficiency. On the other hand Locke and Schweiger are on firmer ground with their conclusion that participation in decision making generally has a positive effect on satisfaction--realizing, of course, that definitional inconsistencies are still problematic.

In general, some of the correlational field studies were characterized by some methodologically sound research (e.g., Lischeron & Wall, 1975a; Alutto & Acito, 1974; Mullen, 1965; Baumgartel, 1956). Others, however, were vague in terms of the operational definition of the terms. This means that the measurement of dependent variables is of limited value in any attempt to form general conclusions (e.g., Schuler, 1977; Stagner, 1969; Ley, 1966).

Multivariate Experimental Field Studies

In the pervious sub-section Lischeron and Wall (1975a) and Alutto and Acito (1974) pointed out the important distinction between identifying a correlational relationship and drawing causal

inferences between variables. Locke and Schweiger (1979) explained that many experimental studies had been conducted in field settings in an attempt to find causality, some of which were considered "classics" in the literature on participative decision making. Unfortunately, it was impossible to draw conclusions about the efficacy of participation since such studies frequently involved the manipulation of at least one major variable in addition to participation in decision making. Susman (1976) changed job training, pay, the nature of the work, quality of feedback, work teams, delegation, and technology in addition to participation in decision making. Similarly Donnelly (1977) changed five variables, Marrow, Bowers, and Seashore (1967) changed nine variables, and McCormick (1938) changed five variables.

Some multivariate studies however, have played a major part in the formulation of contemporary management theory. It would be a serious oversight to ignore early research conducted at the Hawthorne Plant of Western Electric Company and the more recent work of Rensis Likert (1976, 1967, 1961).

Few standard textbooks about management and administration fail to describe what have become known as "The Hawthorne Studies." Luthans (1977) and Hoy and Miskel (1986) provide comprehensive descriptions of the experimental conditions and findings which warrant consideration. The studies began with three experiments to explore the relationship of quality and quantity of illumination to efficiency in industry. In the first experiment, the level of

illumination in three departments was increased at stated intervals. Unexpectedly, increased intensity of illumination did not correspond with increases in production, nor did production fall when the light intensity was diminished. In the second experiment an experimental and control group were created. The former group was exposed to varying illumination and the latter group to illumination at a constant intensity. Once again results were surprising, with both groups registering substantial increases in production. In the third experiment, the experimental group was exposed to diminished lighting, while the control group conditions remained unchanged. As before, the productive efficiency for both groups increased. The conclusions drawn from these experiments were: employee output was unrelated to any significant degree to lighting conditions; variables must have been influencing the results which warranted further exploration.

The company retained the researchers Elton Mayo and Fritz Roethlisberger, who conducted a series of experiments at the plant between 1927 and 1932. To guide their work, six questions were devised:

1. Do employees actually get tired out?
2. Are rest pauses desirable?
3. Is a shorter working day desirable?
4. What are the attitudes of employees toward their work and toward the company?

5. What is the affect of changing the type of working conditions?

6. Why does production fall off in the afternoon?

To control intervening variables, two women were selected along with three colleagues of their choice and placed in a test room segregated from the rest of the factory. All six performed the same standard task of assembling telephone relays. Over the following year, several experimental conditions were varied including the frequency and duration of rest pauses, and the length of the work day and work week. Periodically, the women were asked to express their opinions about the changes. Finally, the original conditions of work were re-established with no rest periods or deviations from the norm. To the researchers' amazement, production levels rose to levels far above those existing during almost identical pre-experimental conditions. Furthermore, the workers' attitudes and morale had also improved over the cause of the investigation. The inevitable conclusion once again was that the independent variables were not causing the changes in the dependent variables.

One explanation for the improved production and morale was attributed to wage incentives. In the small group, unlike the normal situation, women could earn more money in direct proportion to the individual effort expended. To test the effect of the wage incentive 5 women were moved to adjacent work stations in the regular department. These assemblers were placed on a separate small group piece rate incentive scheme. Finally, in the Mica-Splitting Room,

segregated experimental conditions were reinstated, but operators worked under an individual piece rate system. The experimenters concluded that the wage incentive factors alone could not have produced the continuous increase in output.

Next, attention focused on the experimental environment. Over time supervision had changed markedly, becoming more informal, non-directive, and personal. The self-image of the workers had also improved, due to the relaxed atmosphere and free exchange of ideas, and the sense of pride growing out of being selected for the experiment. Inadvertently a friendly, cohesive work group had evolved, and the social relations which had developed became the obvious area of further study.

The final phase of the research project was known as the Bank Wiring Study, the purpose of which was the observational analysis of informal work groups. Fourteen men--nine wiremen, three soldermen, and two inspectors--were placed in a Bank Wiring Observation Room and told to continue their usual task, assembling terminal banks for use in telephone exchanges. The only deviation in normal working conditions was the presence of an observer in the room, and occasional interviews with an interviewer outside the work setting.

It soon became apparent from the interactions between the workers, that the group had an informal social structure with norms, values, and sentiments which influenced performance. Norms were enforced through sarcasm, ostracism and verbal abuse. Behavior

conformed to the role expectations of the group as opposed to the official specifications of the job. Such was the power of the group that production was restricted to a "fair" level which was below that expected by management.

Based on the series of experiments conducted at the Hawthorne plant, Hoy and Miskel (1986) presented the following propositions:

> 1. Economic incentive is not the only significant motivator. In fact, non economic social sanctions limit the effectiveness of economic incentives.
> 2. Workers respond to management as members of an informal group, not as individuals.
> 3. Production levels are limited more by the social norms of the informal organization than by physiological capacities.
> 4. Specialization does not necessarily create the most efficient organization of the work.
> 5. Workers use informal organization to protect themselves against arbitrary management decisions.
> 6. Informal social organizations interact with management.
> 7. A narrow span of control is not a prerequisite to effective supervision.
> 8. Informal leaders are often as important as formal supervisors.
> 9. Individuals are active human beings, not passive cogs in a machine. (p. 15)

In reference to the importance and significance of the Hawthorne Studies Rogers and Agarwala-Rogers (1976) stated: "[They] marked an important intellectual watershed in conceptions of organizational behavior, leading to an entire recasting of assumptions about human behavior in organizations" (p. 39). The almost reverent respect held for these studies by many writers in the field of organizational behavior, is not however a universal sentiment. Carey (1967), in a very detailed analysis of the results, challenges the conclusion that social factors were the principal influence on worker behavior. He asserted:

> A detailed comparison between the Hawthorne conclusions and the Hawthorne evidence shows these conclusions to be almost wholly unsupported. The evidence reported by the Hawthorne investigators is found to be consistent with the view that material, and especially financial reward is the principal influence on work morale and behavior. (p. 403)

The basis for what some would consider Carey's heretical criticisms was threefold. First, in the initial Relay Room experiment, no appreciable increases in productivity occurred until the two lowest producing girls were removed (for excessive talking) and replaced by people of "rather special personality and motivation" (1967, p. 412). Second, in the subsequent Relay Room experiment where the experimental group returned to the shop floor but given a preferred incentive system, output increased by 12.6%. The experiment, however, caused so much discontent among the rest of the girls who wanted the same payment system, that it was discontinued after nine weeks. The output of the experimental group promptly dropped by 16%. Third, in the Mica Splitting Room experiment, the Hawthorne experimenters claimed that a 15% increase in productivity was due to a new supervisory style. Carey demonstrated convincingly, that the increase was due to a change the implicit definition of productivity which occurred over the course of the experiments. The percentage increase in production which was claimed, was in fact an increase in the rate of output per worker per hour. Since the number of hours worked per week decreased from 55.5 to 46, increased production figures diminished to zero. This author notes however, that in economic terms, such

an increase in output per unit of time would be an important outcome of participation for managers seeking profit maximization.

In addition to these criticisms Carey considered the investigator's conclusions unjustified because: (a) there was no attempt to establish the sample groups as representative of any larger population than the groups themselves, consequently generalization was not legitimate; (b) there was no attempt to employ control data from the output records of the women who were not under special experimental conditions; and (c) a group of five subjects was too small to yield statistically reliable results.

It would appear that the Hawthorne studies contained some serious flaws in terms of their research design, which raises questions about their scientific value. There is no denying the fact however, that as a consequence of this pioneering work, the work group, and the social forces which existed within it, became the focus of subsequent research into the effects of participation in decision making.

These early studies led many social researchers to realize that the study of organizations and the behavior of people within them was far more difficult than had been appreciated. In response to this realization, Rensis Likert published two books, New Patterns of Management (1961), and The Human Organization (1967), which brought a degree of sophistication and complexity to the theory and practice of management which had been unknown previously. Likert contended that most organizations based their operating

procedures and practices on Classical theories of organizations which were themselves grounded on the assumptions of well-known practitioners of management. Based on the research done by The University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research since 1945, Likert believed that a more stable body of knowledge was available. The art of management could now be based on verifiable information gained through the rigorous application of quantitative methods. In place of management based on crude judgment and trial and error he proposed a "Science-Based System of Management."

On the basis of information gained from several hundred studies of various types of organization and data from thousands of managers and employees, Likert developed an extensive table of Organizational and Performance Characteristics (1967, pp. 14-24) showing the comparative differences among prevailing management systems. Once the table appeared in print, it was quickly realized that it could be used to measure the management system being employed by a particular organization.

The table, in its amended form, comprised seven "operating characteristics": motivations, communication, interaction, decision making, goal setting, control, performance. Under each characteristic were a number of questions, and a manager could indicate on a continuum where his/her organization was actually located in terms of its system of organization. In its original form (1961) the systems were: Exploitive-authoritative, Benevolent-authoritative, Consultative, and Participative group.

These descriptions were subsequently changed to avoid influencing managers as they made their decisions. In the publication of 1967 they were: System 1, System 2, System 3, and System 4 respectively. As well as indicating the actual position of their organization's system, managers also indicated the position on the continuum where they believed it should be. While many managers viewed their organizations to be between System 1 and System 2, the majority indicated a preference for a structure close to System 4. Following the administration of this instrument to a large number of managers, Likert (1967) commented: "With very few exceptions, high-producing departments are seen as using management systems more to the right (toward System 4) and low-producing units as more to the left (toward System 1)" (p. 11). Likert's confidence in the efficacy of System 4 had clearly not been diminished some years later when he stated:

> The Institute for Social Research's studies show that on the average, in widely different industries and for widely different kinds of work, the same basic principles for managing human activity are used by the mangers who achieve the highest production, lowest cost, and most financially successful operations. The principles differ significantly from those used by those managers who achieve below-average productivity, costs, and earnings. (1976, p. 16)

Likert (1961) presented an extensive and detailed description of a System 4 organization. For brevity, this author has paraphrased the description which Likert provided in his later book. The human organization of a System 4 firm is made up of interlocking work groups with a high degree of group loyalty among the members and favorable attitudes and trust among peers, superiors, and subordinates. Consideration for stress and relatively high levels

of skill in personal interaction, group problem solving, and other group functions also are present. These skills permit effective participation in decisions on common problems. Participation is used, for example, to establish organizational objectives which are a satisfactory integration of the needs and desires of all the members of the organization and of persons functionally related to it. Members of the organization are highly motivated to achieve the organization's goals. High levels of reciprocal influence occur, and high levels of total coordinated influence are achieved in the organization. Communication is efficient and effective. There is a flow from one part of the organization to another of all the relevant information important for each decision and action. The leadership in the organization has developed a highly effective social system for interaction, problem solving, mutual influence, and organizational achievement. The leadership is technically competent and holds high performance goals (Likert, 1976, p. 16).

Likert (1967) explained that in order to move an organization along the continuum toward System 4, a manager must differentiate between "causal," "intervening," and "end-result" variables. Failure to do this would result in treating the symptoms and not the causes of the problems. Causal variables were independent variables which determined the course of developments within an organization and the results it achieved. These variables included only those factors which could be changed by the organization and its management.

Causal variables included the structure of the organization and management's policies, decisions, business and leadership strategies, skills, and behaviors.

Intervening variables reflected the internal state and health of the organization and included the loyalties, attitudes, goals, perceptions, and performance of all members and their collective capacity for effective interaction, communication, and decision making. The end-result variables were the dependent variables which reflected the achievement of the organization, such as its productivity, scrap loss, and earnings.

These variables formed a complex set of interrelationships. Attempts at influencing end-result variables by changing intervening variables directly would probably prove less successful, than attempting to modify them through alterations in the causal variables. For example, there would be little hope of improving earnings by attempting to develop more open and informal channels of communication, if the underlying structure of the organization was based on a hierarchy and chain of command, and thus remained unchanged.

In spite of the quantitative data supporting Likert's belief in System 4 and its principles of participative management, he was eager to stress that: "Although the principles used by the highest-producing managers are essentially the same from industry to industry or for different kinds of work, the specific methods for applying them usually differs markedly from situation to

situation" (1976, p. 16). With this statement, Likert inadvertently highlighted the major shortcoming of multivariate experimental field studies, also alluded to by Locke and Schweiger (1979, p. 294). Although an inordinate number of variables were identified, including participation, any attempts to make concrete prescriptions for practicing managers would be reckless, since it was impossible to attribute causality to any one of them.

Both the Hawthorne Studies and the research of Likert are excellent examples of the considerable body of multivariate research literature currently available. These studies have often been conducted over a period of years, with vast amounts of quantitative and qualitative data being collected. As a consequence, some very detailed descriptions of specific organizations and the forces which have molded them, have been presented (e.g., Trist & Bamforth, 1951). Ironically, the specific nature of these descriptions have often been their major limitation, since it has proven almost impossible to formulate specific practices, which would prove effective regardless of the nature and context of the organization.

Controlled Experimental Field Studies

In the opinion of Locke and Schweiger (1979), the studies in this sub-section overcame many of the deficiencies inherent in the research approaches cited previously. Since the research was conducted in field settings as opposed to laboratories, the results had a high degree of external validity. In addition, because a specific independent variable was manipulated in each case, causal

inferences could be drawn from the data. Finally, unlike the multivariate studies, extraneous factors were fairly well accounted for, making it much easier to determine the specific effects of participation in decision making.

The studies reviewed will be presented in two groups. The first group includes studies which produced no change in the dependent variables productive efficiency or satisfaction. The second group contains studies which identified a change in one or other dependent variables due to an alteration in the degree of participation.

Fleishman (1965) investigated the effects of attitudes and skill factors on work group productivity. Management in a dress manufacturing factory were perplexed by the fact that following the change to a new product-line, production and income declined relative to the pre-change level, and then improved considerably over time. This sequence had become an established pattern over time and caused the management to seek a solution, given the fact that operators continued to perform the same basic tasks regardless of the product-line.

The study comprised four phases. First, one control and one experimental group were matched in terms of experience, years of employment at the factory, and several other factors. The production of each group was closely monitored and recorded over twenty weeks. Second, a questionnaire was used to gather data from the groups at the time of a change in product-line and during the subsequent recovery. Third, an experimental treatment was instituted. The

experimental group were informed that they would plan the next change in product-line themselves, being responsible for determining the operations sequence, handling procedures, pricing of individual operations, with the manager serving solely as a technical consultant.

The results of this experiment were interesting. Contrary to the normal pattern of events, the production of the experimental group showed relatively little decline following the change over to a new line. Significantly, the control group also maintained its pre-change production levels. When the experimental group was subsequently returned to producing a former product-line, their former production levels were matched initially and later increased to a new plateau not previously attained.

Fleishman concluded that the traditional pattern of decline following a change was due to attitude factors as opposed to significant skill deficiencies. The fact that the control group's production record was the same as the experimental group's suggested a transfer effect across groups as well as from style to style. This seemed particularly plausible since the two groups were not physically separated but intermingled freely during the experiment.

Although this study was methodologically sound, with attempts made to control intervening variables, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions about the specific effects of direct participation on production. Given the improvements in the control group, one wonders whether the "Hawthorne Effect" was operating. Given the results

Fleishman would have been well advised to replicate the study with different groups, but keeping the experimental group segregated.

An experimental study at General Electric by French, Kay, and Meyer (1966) varied the degree of participation in the goal-setting process during performance appraisal sessions of lower-level managers. The researchers hypothesized that if a manager had a high need for independence, the more he/she participated in planning goals for improved performance, the greater would be subsequent goal achievement, the more favorable his/her attitude toward his/her manager, the more favorable his/her attitude toward the appraisal system, and the greater the level of occupational self-actualization.

Two groups were formed from 92 managers scheduled to receive annual appraisal interviews. In the "high participation" group, the appraiser was instructed to: allow the managers to present the goals which he/she had prepared previously; to modify and add goals as necessary through discussion and a climate of mutual influence; and to elicit further goals from the manager. In the "low participation" group, the appraiser was instructed to: present the improvement goals he/she had developed for the manager and secure their agreement; to allow the manager to modify the goals only if necessary; and to accept the manager's suggested goals with minimal discussion.

The results showed quite clearly that the major factor affecting the managers' subsequent performance was whether performance goals were set during the interview. The degree of acceptance of goals

increased in both the high and low participation groups. The effect of participation depended on several contextual factors. Where a particular manager had been accustomed to participation prior to the experiment, the high-participation condition led to improved performance. When a manager had not been used to participation however, the high-participation manipulation resulted in poorer performance. Those managers with a high need for independence reacted more favorably than those with a low need, to higher levels of participation.

Based on this experiment alone, the researcher would be more inclined to recommend goal setting to the practicing manager than participation. It seemed that the relative merits of participation were determined to a larger degree by the disposition of the individuals involved, and the context within which it was applied.

It has been difficult to determine the specific effect of participation on productivity in many studies because improved performance was also connected to some form of economic incentive. To address this problem Powell and Schlacter (1971) conducted an experiment with work crews employed by the Operations Division of the Bureau of Traffic, Ohio Department of Highways, who did not receive economic rewards for improved performance.

Three distinct levels of participation were instituted with different crews: (a) crews worked indirectly in determining their work schedule by having their supervisor consult with Operations headquarters concerning the acceptability of their proposal;

(b) crews developed a schedule by conferring directly with a representative from Operations; and (c) work crews were entirely responsible for development of schedules. The performance of the crews was obtained by measuring "net productivity." This information was later compared with data for the preceding six months, the prior equivalent six months, and the previous year. The researchers were also interested in the workers' morale. Consequently, an instrument was developed based on the theory of Frederick Herzberg et al. (1959) to measure the workers' maintenance and motivational needs prior to the experiment and immediately following it. As an indirect indication of morale, the amount of sick-leave taken during the experiment was recorded.

At no time was the performance of any crew, regardless of their degree of participation, significantly improved when compared to data from previous periods. In addition, only the level of morale among crews exposed to the third level of participation, showed any improvement. At the same time however, the number of man hours lost due to absence increased during the experiment.

Powell and Schlachter offered several interpretations of the results. Some individuals are not prepared to accept responsibility and prefer authoritarian leadership, therefore they cannot be expected to respond favorably to participation. The researchers also questioned the validity of the commonly held belief that highly motivated individuals would be highly productive. The evidence from their research did not support this position. They closed

their account with the following recommendation: "Managers must be able to find that trade-off point between participation and morale on the one hand and high productivity on the other which gives him the best overall results" (1971, p. 172).

This author questioned the value of this study for the manager trying to decide whether or not to implement participative practices. First, the researchers failed to define or explain the "net-productivity measure" of performance they used. Second, they did not provide examples of the items in their questionnaire so the reader cannot determine the extent to which it was an accurate measure of morale. Third, they did not indicate the number of workers in each crew, or whether all the crews were the same size. This information would have proven significant since the number of individuals involved may have influenced their perceptions of the participative process. Finally, no explanation was offered as to the manner in which the third level of participation crews actually arrived at their decisions. They may have used any one of a large number of mechanisms, for example, majority rule, those with the most experience decide for the rest of the crews, which also could have had an important bearing on the outcome.

As Powell and Schlachter (1971) challenged the common belief in a relationship between motivation and productivity, so Lischeron and Wall (1975b) questioned the frequent assertion of a causal relationship between participation and satisfaction. The researchers conducted a study with employees of the "Outdoor Services Section"

of a Local Authority Recreation department in Great Britain, to examine the effects of employee participation in decision making at higher levels in an organization.

Based upon the employees responses to a survey, a participative system was designed to allow each individual an opportunity to influence decisions through personal contact with superiors; the term "Action Planning Groups" was used to describe the system. These groups were intended to be mutual interest structures within the organization. They had no formal authority or sanction, but were intended to exert influence by power of reason. Fifteen groups were formed with between six and fourteen members in each, along with their immediate supervisor and a management representative. These groups combined to form the "experimental" group. A "control" group of 200 maintained traditional practices and procedures. At the end of the five month experimental period, a survey of worker attitudes toward the principle of participation and the Action Planning Groups was conducted.

Three clear findings emerged from the data. First, there was no relationship between perceived increases in participation and levels of satisfaction with the organization, pay, opportunities for promotion, the job itself, immediate supervisors, or coworkers. There was, however, an improvement in the relationships between managers and workers. Second, contrary to popular opinion, increased participation did not lead workers to desire even greater participation. Third, the Advanced-Planning Groups were viewed as

a worthwhile and popular form of participation by the vast majority who experienced them. These findings prompted the following comment from Lischeron and Wall (1975b):

> The weakness of the evidence supporting the participation-satisfaction thesis arising from the present investigation, in conjunction with the findings from previous experimental-field studies, makes it reasonable to suggest that no direct or strong causal relationship necessarily exists between participation and employee satisfaction. The most disturbing aspect of this conclusion is that it is uncommon in the research literature. . . . It is our submission that the empirical evidence has become distorted by value orientations. (p. 882)

This study was well designed. The survey instrument was developed following informal discussions with workers and managers about relevant decision-making issues. In addition to quantitative data, information of a qualitative nature was acquired through non-participant observers. The study was conducted over a considerable period of time with two large samples of employees. On the basis of its methodological soundness there appears to be every justification for giving the results careful consideration.

In 1976, Latham and Yukl studied the effects on productivity and satisfaction involving a group of typists in goal-setting. Three groups were formed, with subjects being randomly assigned to each of the experimental conditions. One group used "participative goal setting": each typist set individual goals for himself/herself following discussions with the supervisor about the previous weeks performance. A second group used "assigned goal-setting": each typist was given a goal for the subsequent week based upon the

supervisor's evaluation of past performance; the goals were difficult but attainable. A third group was told to "do your best."

A significant improvement in the productivity of both experimental groups was observed, however there was no significant difference in the degree of improvement between the "participative" and "assigned" groups. Furthermore, there was no significant difference between the two groups, with respect to the difficulty of the goals or the frequency with which they were attained. As compared to pre-change measures, employees in both experimental conditions experienced a significant decline in job satisfaction.

The researchers concluded that the degree of participation in goal setting was not as important as the act of providing a specific goal to pursue. However, it was quite clear that specific goals led to greater increases in performance than the generalized goal "do your best."

A similar study was conducted with a group of engineers in a research and development laboratory of a large U.S. international corporation (Latham, Mitchell, & Dossett, 1978). As with the study of Latham and Yukl (1976) one group was assigned goals while another worked with a supervisor to determine mutually agreeable goals. The dependent variables under consideration were: "goal difficulty;" "goal acceptance" which was a measure of an individuals determination to reach a goal; "satisfaction" which indicated the expected degree of pleasure from accomplishing the goal; "instrumentality" the likelihood of favorable or unfavorable consequences of goal

attainment in terms of job security, future pay increases or promotions, coworker respect; and "relevance" the perceived usefulness of the performance appraisal for counseling and development purposes.

Results suggested that no significant difference existed between the goal acceptance or instrumentality for the two experimental groups. The goals set by the participative group were significantly more difficult than those of the assigned group. Although the "actual" goals were significantly more difficult under the participative condition, there was no significant difference in the "perceived" difficulty of the goals between the two conditions. Finally, there was no significant difference in intrinsic satisfaction with goal accomplishment between the participative and assigned goal-setting groups.

Based on their results Latham, Mitchell and Dossett concluded: "It would appear that participation is important to the extent that it influences goal difficulty and hence performance, but that goal specificity and goal acceptance can be attained as easily through assigned as through participatively set goals" (1978, p. 170). This study also lends further support to those researchers who have challenged the prevailing belief in a causal relationship between participation and satisfaction (e.g., Lischeron & Wall, 1975b).

Unlike the studies cited in the first category which failed to identify a causal relationship between participation, productivity,

and/or satisfaction, the studies which follow in the second category claim with various degrees of authority, to have discovered such relationships.

Morse and Reimer (1956) investigated the effects of varying the degree of decision making involvement of rank-and-file employee groups. They hypothesized that there would be a direct relationship between degree of involvement and levels of employee satisfaction and productivity. Four divisions of female clerks were separated into two groups. One group was given greater rank and file decision making authority following a structural change in the organization which delegated more prerogatives to lower level managers; this group was referred to as the "Autonomy" group. The second group, termed the "Hierarchical" group, were restricted in their degree of influence by the increase in authority vested in higher line officials. The supervisors involved were given six months training to equip them to respond appropriately to the relative decision making authority of each group. Pre and post change measures were taken of employee attitudes toward the company, their supervisors, and their jobs. A year elapsed between measures.

The data revealed that several dependent variables had been affected during the experiment. Self-actualization, the degree to which an individual felt he/she could express needs and move toward fulfilling their potential, showed a significant increase among workers in the Autonomy group. The Hierarchical group showed a corresponding decline on this factor. Satisfaction with the

supervision, satisfaction with relationships with supervisors, and satisfaction with the company, all moved in the same direction for each group as that indicated for self-actualization. Productivity was measured in terms of clerical cost expressed in percentage terms. It was calculated by dividing actual clerical costs by a constant standard of expected cost for a given volume of work. Contrary to expectations productivity increased in all four divisions. The increases were statistically significant, with the Hierarchical-group recording greater increases than the Autonomy-group.

The results supported the expected relationship between satisfaction and degree of rank-and-file environment in decision making. The hypothesized relationship with productivity was not verified. This research was well designed with supervisors being trained extensively to ensure the desired experimental manipulations occurred. In addition, the organizational structure was changed to accommodate the alterations in decision making procedures. This supported the point made by Likert (1967) earlier in this chapter. He stated the importance of changing "causal-variables" in order to facilitate relevant changes in "end-result" variables.

French, Israel, and As (1960) replicated the famous Coch and French study (1948) in a Norwegian shoe factory. At the outset the researchers commented that: "The word 'participation' does not refer to a clearly defined scientific concept, it is, rather, a word with many usages taken from our common language" (p. 3). Unlike many

of the studies of participation, these authors provided an operational definition of participation. In their view participation was a process in which two or more parties influenced each other in making decisions which would have future effects on all those involved.

Three dependent variables were identified: production, management-worker relationships, and job satisfaction. Furthermore four "conditioning variables" were identified, which, it was suggested mediated the effects of participation: "legitimacy of participation," the extent to which the parties involved considered it right and proper for them to be engaged in the decision making process; "resistance to change," the effects of participation would be influenced by the degree of acceptance of the specific processes used by those involved; "importance of the area of participation," if a particular decision held little importance for an individual, then his/her participation would have minimal effect since it would not provide an opportunity to satisfy personal needs; and "relevance of participation," the effects of participation would depend on the content of the decision.

Nine, four-man work groups had to change to producing a new product line. Four groups conducted the change following standard practices which were clear-cut and prescriptive. Five groups were permitted various degrees of participation in deciding the following: which new product should be assigned to each group, division of

labor, assignment of tasks to group members, and necessary training for the new tasks.

There was no significant difference in the subsequent production levels of the two groups. Fleishman (1965) obtained a similar result when he studied change in a dress manufacturing plant. French et al. (1960) believed that the result was partially explicable in that none of the decision areas were "relevant" to production. In addition, production-ceilings had been set by higher level management prior to the experiment. Some workers expressed the fear that exceeding these ceilings would subsequently prompt management to reduce the piece-rate.

Management-worker relations improved considerably, but only for those individuals who experienced a level of participation which they considered legitimate. Finally, the positive effects of participation increased, as the level of resistance to the specific method utilized decreased.

This research shed some additional light on the question of the effects of participation on various dependent variables. It appeared that broad generalizations should be treated with caution, since significant "conditioning-variables" exerted considerable influence on the outcome.

Ivancevich (1977) conducted an experiment which was similar in many ways to that of Latham and Yukl (1976) cited previously. Skilled technicians in each of three plants were assigned to one of three different goal-setting treatments: "assigned,"

"participative," "do your best." Performance and satisfaction measures were taken pre-treatment, and then at six, nine, and twelve month intervals. The assigned and participative groups were given two and one-half days of work related role playing, case analysis, small group discussions and lectures to prepare them to operate under their designated conditions.

Analysis revealed that on the performance measures of number of complaints and cost, the assigned group outperformed the participative group. In terms of the safety record, the performance was reversed. There was no significant difference in the absence records of the two groups.

There was no significant difference between groups in terms of satisfaction with the job itself. The participative group however, reported significantly higher satisfaction with the supervision.

This study demonstrated that goal-setting led to better performance than no goal setting at all. On the face of it, there is also justification for the claim that there was no difference in the effects of assigned and participative goals. Interpreted in one way, this could seem to support the manager who believes that his/her job is to "tell" people what to do. Such an interpretation would be dangerous. Close reading of this research indicated that the assigned group "discussed" goals with the supervisor before he/she made the final decision. With this in mind, the results could be reinterpreted as demonstrating the benefits of "some degree of participation" over the "laissez-faire"

approach manifest in the "do your best" group. The point to stress here is that of the need for caution when reading and interpreting empirical evidence on the effects of participation.

Conclusion

In short then, serious studies found no causal relationship between participation, productive efficiency, and/or satisfaction. By contrast, other research evidence exists which indicates such relationships are extant. The evidence is sufficiently varied that both proponents and opponents of participation in decision making can find empirical evidence to support their position.

Conclusion: The Effects of Participative Decision Making in Industrial and Commercial Organizations

The literature on participative management is so large, any serious analysis requires a framework. The one used by Locke and Schweiger (1979) in that it is considered to be the most thorough and contemporary review, was employed. Research studies were categorized in four sub-sections: laboratory studies, correlational field studies, multivariate experimental field studies, and controlled experimental studies. A large number of studies were reviewed with attention being paid to purpose, procedures, and results. Where appropriate, comments on the strengths and weaknesses of specific studies were made.

Some general comments must now be offered about the limitations identified in this large body of literature. Although the laboratory provided an environment in which researchers could control extraneous

variables, doubts exist over the internal and external validity of their results. Maier and Sashkin (1971) attempted to determine the effects of training leaders to behave in particular ways on group problem solving. They concluded that "trained" groups produced integrated solutions far more frequently than "untrained" groups. It was clear from their description however, that neither of the groups received training. One group had been given an "explanation" of the concept of group-problem solving but had not been given an opportunity to practice the skills involved. The internal validity of their experiment is problematic. A similar problem exists with the study by Calvin, Hoffmann, and Harden (1957). They concluded that more intelligent groups performed better under "permissive" conditions, while the less intelligent favored "authoritarian" conditions. The social atmosphere was manipulated by the experimenters who manifested various behaviors which they considered "permissive" and "authoritarian." The subjects were not measured to determine whether their perceptions of the social atmosphere matched those of the experimenter. Consequently one may ask whether the intended experimental manipulation actually occurred.

Many of the experiments required subjects to identify a pre-determined, single correct answer to a specific problem. In practice, many problems which face managers and administrators do not have a single perfect solution. Consequently, this author questions the external validity of studies which require subjects to illuminate a colored light bulb (McCurdy & Lambert, 1952) or

solve a word puzzle (Katzell, Miller, Rotter, & Venet, 1970) is questionable at best. Such experiments did not consider such important issues as quality of decision, and quality of the decision making interactions. Finally, an additional limitation of the laboratory evidence is related to the subjects. In almost every study reviewed, the sample comprised university undergraduate or graduate students. It is difficult to generalize from such populations to blue or white collar employees in authentic work settings.

While the correlational studies contained far fewer limitations, some of the reports were of dubious value due to vague operational definitions and measurement of dependent variables (Schuler, 1977; Stagner, 1969; Ley, 1966). In contrast other researchers described in detail their assumptions and procedures, and formulated conclusions which were substantiated by the results (Lischeron & Wall, 1975a; Alutto & Acito, 1974; Mullen, 1965). As with all correlational studies, it is important to remember however, that causality should not be inferred between dependent and independent variables which demonstrated a statistically significant relationship.

The multivariate studies provided the most complete and thorough descriptions of any of the research reviewed. These investigations were conducted over extended periods of time, with multiple data gathering approaches being employed. It is impossible however, to infer from the Likert research (1961, 1967, 1976) the relative

effect of participation in decision making, since a large number of additional independent variables had been manipulated simultaneously. As with the correlational evidence, causality was not identifiable.

The controlled field experiments were probably the most sound from the standpoint of internal and external validity. In addition, causality could be inferred, providing a sound base upon which to make recommendations for practice. Unfortunately, the results were equivocal, with studies demonstrating the effectiveness and ineffectiveness of participation in relation to productive efficiency and satisfaction (Fleishman, 1965; Lischeron & Wall, 1975b; Latham & Yukl, 1976).

Commenting on the body of literature which they reviewed, Locke and Schweiger stated:

> . . . there is no evidence that PDM [Participation in Decision Making] is superior to more directive methods in increasing productivity. The results are more favorable to PDM with respect to the satisfaction criterion, but again over 40 percent of the studies showed no general superiority of PDM. (1979, p. 316)

The empirical evidence available could be used to both support arguments in favor of participation and arguments in opposition to it. Based on the identified limitations inherent in a great deal of this research, extreme caution should be exercised before attempting to make generalizations. One might surmise that in as much as the results of PDM studies fail to show any clear trend, ". . . there is a great deal we do not yet know about the conditions under which PDM will work" (Locke & Schweiger, 1979, p. 316).

CHAPTER IV

PARTICIPATIVE MANAGEMENT IN EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Introduction

In the previous chapter, a considerable body of empirical research was reviewed and analyzed. The conclusion was that based on evidence from non-educational organizations, extreme caution should be exercised before making generalizations about the outcomes related to participation. In this chapter evidence generated by investigations in educational establishments will be reviewed. Efforts will be made to determine whether more confident generalizations may be formulated about the likely consequences of participation.

The volume of empirical literature acquired from research in educational organizations is very small in comparison with that available from commercial and industrial settings. Furthermore, the majority of researchers have conducted correlational studies due to the difficulties of replicating conditions in laboratories. In light of these limitations this author will consider the relationship between participation and various dependent variables including satisfaction and productivity. The chapter will be divided into the following sections: autocratic-democratic leadership; participation and satisfaction; effects of bureaucracy; participation and productivity; participation in decision making; and leadership and participation.

Autocratic-democratic Leadership

Anderson (1959), referring to what he termed, "the subject of lively controversy in education today" (p. 200), drew a comparison between "teacher-centered" and "learner-centered" teaching styles and "authoritarian" and "democratic" leadership styles. Just as strong arguments had been presented in favor of each teaching style, so too had cases been made for the merits of each leadership style. Viewing the controversy with a degree of frustration, Anderson posed two questions to guide his research:

1. Is there sufficient evidence that one of these styles of leadership is more effective?

2. Does the authoritarian-democratic continuum provide an adequate conceptualization of leadership? (p. 202).

Noting at the outset that several synonyms had been used in the literature, the author presented a working definition of terms. He stated that authoritarian leaders generally acted in an impersonal manner; punished members who disobeyed or deviated; decided what the group would talk about; determined how work should be done; and judged the soundness of ideas. In contrast democratic leaders generally acted in a friendly, personal manner; allowed the group as a whole to plan the agenda; allowed group members to choose the tasks they would perform; and accepted suggestions from the group about how the work should be done. Thus, one of the major dimensions distinguishing this type of approach involved the degree of participation by subordinates.

The outcomes of particular interest were productivity and morale. In industrial settings productivity referred to the amount of work done. In educational environments productivity referred to the amount learned. Morale had a general meaning which was context free, referring to the extent to which members found the group personally satisfying.

Anderson attempted to answer the two research questions by reviewing a large number of experimental studies conducted in industrial and educational settings. He soon became aware of the immense variety of definitions used for both the dependent and independent variables. In reference to the industrial setting research he stated: "It may well be asked whether these diverse studies are comparable and whether generalizations from these studies will have any meaning" (1959, p. 203). Similarly he found the experiments with "teacher-centered" and "learner-centered" teaching methods equally confusing.

> To summarize the educational research reviewed, eleven studies have reported greater learning for learner-centered groups, thirteen have shown no difference and eight have found teacher-centered methods superior to learner-centered. It should be noted that while some investigations have reported a statistically significant difference favoring one method or another, it is doubtful if any one of these differences are of practical or social significance. (p. 209)

Anderson cited three main reasons for the confusing and contradictory pattern of research findings. First, there was a lack of methodological rigor and inadequate research design. In addition many experimenters seemed unaware of similar investigations in their field. Second, and perhaps the most serious defect in the research,

were the imprecise operational definitions of leadership styles. He believed this imprecision to be symptomatic of a deeper problem: the authoritarian-democratic construct was an inadequate basis for research because it presumed to summarize the complexity of group life into a single dimension. Third, there was no adequate notion of how the authoritarian-democratic construct was actually related to learning.

Anderson concluded: "The available evidence fails to demonstrate that either authoritarian or democratic leadership is consistently associated with higher productivity. In most situations, however, democratic leadership is associated with higher morale" (1959, p. 212). Restating Anderson's conclusion, he failed to find conclusive empirical evidence to either support or reject participative management on the grounds of its affects on student learning. In terms of satisfaction with the group, democratic approaches seemed to be the most effective.

Piper (1974), aware of the issues which Anderson (1959) raised, attempted to provide a solution by conducting a laboratory experiment. Piper compared the effectiveness of decisions generated by individuals in two forms of participative decision making with the decisions made by the same individuals acting alone. The participants were 82 graduate students in education, who were exposed to an exercise simulation called "Moonshot." In the simulation, participants played the role of astronauts who had crashed on the moon, and had to rank in order of importance, fifteen items of

equipment which might help them reach the mother-ship 200 miles away. Their solutions were compared with the "best solution" provided by NASA.

First the participants ranked the items working alone. Next they were randomly assigned to one of two treatment conditions, the "consensus group" or the "participative group." The "consensus group" did not have a designated leader, and were required to rank the items so that all the members (between three and five) agreed with the decision at least partially. The "participative groups" had leaders assigned by the researcher. In five of the groups the leader was the individual with the highest individual score. In five other groups, the leader had submitted the lowest individual scores. Neither the leader or the members were aware of their individual scores. A control group was used with participants completing the simulation as individuals working alone on two separate occasions.

Performance change was determined in two ways. In the consensus groups the mean score for the individuals before the discussions was compared with the group score after discussion. In the participative groups the individual leader scores were compared with the scores they achieved after seeking advice and suggestions from group members.

Results indicated that all treatment groups registered improved scores following consultation. There was also a tendency for groups to outperform the solo efforts of their own most proficient member.

The improvements were most marked in groups led by individuals whom had registered the poorest solo performance.

Based on this laboratory experiment, Piper concluded that decisions made by consensus were more frequently correct than those made by even the most capable individuals acting alone. Furthermore, decisions made by individual leaders based in part on the advice and suggestions of colleagues were more correct than decisions made by the individual alone, regardless of their initial performance relative to other members. Piper stated:

> . . . [these] results do not provide definitive answers as to which model of decision making an organization should choose. However. . . if arriving at the most correct decisions is the primary goal, the involvement of several people--whether it be through a consensus or participative model--will provide better results than the 'one-man-deciding-alone' model. (1974, p. 94)

Piper's study was methodologically sound. He used a well established and respected simulation to induce the treatment effects. Subjects were randomly assigned to treatment conditions, and the effects of prior knowledge were controlled by keeping individual performance scores secret. Finally all results were found to be significant at the .01 or .001 level. The most important limitation on the generalizability of these findings was alluded to by the author. If the intent is to arrive at the highest number of correct decisions then there is some justification for adopting a participative-consultative approach. One must be aware however, that a large number of decisions in education do not have a single correct solution. Consequently, a question must be raised over

the applicability of these findings. Piper's findings should also be interpreted in light of the results generated by McCurdy and Lambert (1952), as described in Chapter Three. In this instance the researchers identified no significant difference between the performance of groups and the performance of individuals working alone. This comparison reinforces the image of conflicting empirical evidence presented by Anderson (1959).

Participation and Satisfaction

Two of the most frequently cited researchers in the area of participation in education decision making are Joseph Alutto and James Belasco. In an article (1972), the authors noted that some researchers believed that the desire for greater participation in decision making was equally and widely distributed throughout education organizations. By contrast, other scholars challenged this view suggesting that since organization populations were far from homogeneous in attitudes, sentiments, and expectations, then it was naive to think that there was a universal desire for greater participation. Having considered the available evidence, Alutto and Belasco commented:

> Distinguishing pure decisional participation is a complex task. Participation can range from the mere presentation of opinion, where the locus of authority rests elsewhere, to membership in the group which exercises final authority over an issue. Given varying shades of participation, not all forms of participation will produce identical or even similar organizational outcomes. (p. 118)

The authors argued that decisional participation could be more accurately conceptualized as a continuum. The continuum was

typified by three conditions: (a) decisional deprivation--actual participation in fewer decisions than desired; (b) decisional equilibrium--actual participation in as many decisions as desired; and (c) decisional saturation--actual participation in a greater number of decisions than desired. The purpose of their research was to determine whether organizations and organizational members could be characterized in terms of an all-encompassing discrepancy participation concept.

An instrument was developed and mailed to 454 teachers in two school districts in New York state. Participants were presented with a series of twelve decisional situations:

1. Hiring new faculty members
2. Selecting specific instructional texts
3. Resolving learning problems of individual students
4. Determining appropriate instructional methods and techniques
5. Establishing general instrumental strategies
6. Establishing classroom disciplinary policies
7. Planning school budgets
8. Determining specific faculty assignments
9. Resolving faculty member grievances
10. Planning new buildings and facilities
11. Resolving problems with community groups
12. Determining faculty salaries.

For each decision each subject indicated (a) whether they currently participated in that decision, and (b) whether they desired

to participate. The state of decisional participation for each subject was determined by summing over the number of decisions in which he desired to participate, and then computing the absolute difference between these two figures. Subjects were then placed in groups characterized by (a) decisional deprivation, (b) decisional equilibrium, and (c) decisional saturation.

Analysis of data revealed that personal and organizational characteristics of individuals experiencing each decisional participation state, varied considerably. Those who were decisionally deprived tended to be younger males, teaching in rural secondary schools. These individuals held the most favorable attitudes toward collective bargaining, unions, and strikes. They perceived that decisional control resided at the highest administrative level, and desired a reduction in the level of influence granted superintendents and principals. Decisionally saturated teachers tended to be older females, employed at the elementary level in urban schools. These teachers held moderately unfavorable attitudes toward collective bargaining, unions, and strikes.

Commenting on the findings, Alutto and Belasco (1972) challenged the long held belief that participation increased organizational commitment. They explained that for at least two segments of each organizational population, the introduction of shared decision making would be an unsound administrative strategy. For those teachers

currently in a state of decisional equilibrium or saturation such an approach could prove highly dysfunctional.

In a follow-up study Belasco and Alutto (1972) analyzed the original data to investigate the relationship between teachers' levels of satisfaction and their state of decisional participation. Satisfaction was defined as the willingness to remain in the current school organization despite inducements to leave. Previous studies had postulated higher levels of satisfaction were associated with various desirable outcomes including higher work achievement, increased trust, higher productivity, and lower levels of job tension and role conflict. Belasco and Alutto discovered that teachers who were decisionally deprived were significantly less satisfied than were teachers in either of the other two decision conditions. The most satisfied teachers were those who considered themselves to be decisionally saturated. A significant negative relationship was identified between satisfaction and job tension, and satisfaction and militant attitudes. There was no relationship between satisfaction and trust or role conflict.

The researchers concluded that the decisional discrepancy approach to the study of satisfaction had considerable merit. Its use had revealed the fact that neither the desire for increased participation in decision making nor high levels of satisfaction were equally distributed throughout the teacher group. The deleterious organizational effects of low levels of satisfaction were of considerable concern. Concurrent emergence of low

satisfaction and high tension might be accompanied by such dysfunctional activities as reduced levels of organizational performance and withdrawal from the situation through either lateness, absenteeism, or various kinds of on-the-job mental illness. In the researchers' view it was quite clear that to increase satisfaction levels there was a pressing need for differential participative management approaches to meet the differential participation desires of various substrata in the overall school population.

Commenting on their work Alutto and Belasco (1972) stressed the tentative nature of their data given the relatively small sample taken from a single geographic region. Their methodology however certainly added credibility to their findings. They tested their instrument extensively before applying it in their investigations, and a test-retest reliability coefficient of .80 was obtained. The authors drew attention to the major limitation of their work: all decisions were treated as though they were of equal importance to all the subjects. Previous research and practical experience suggested that this was not the case. Given the high costs of participation in terms of time and effort, Alutto and Belasco suggested it would be valuable to study the differential effects of deprivation and saturation as they varied with the nature of the decisional issue: would denial of the desire to participate in instructional decisions result in greater deprivation feelings than denial of desires to participate in decisions about building

design? The researchers had only concerned themselves with quantitative issues. The question which they presented for further study involved qualitative factors. They believed that it was important to determine the effects of decision content on the three participation conditions they had presented.

Building upon the work of Alutto and Belasco (1972), Conway (1976) examined the relationship between levels of participation and teachers' satisfaction with their schools. A sample of 166 teachers was taken from 11 secondary schools in west New York state. Each subject completed two instruments: (a) an adapted version of Alutto and Belasco's (1972) Decisional Participation Scale; and (b) Likert's (1967) Profile of a School. The Likert instrument allowed subjects to assess the system level of their schools along a continuum: System 1: exploitive-authoritative, System 2: benevolent-authoritative, System 3: consultative, and System 4: participative. Likert's evidence suggested that the more an organization was perceived as approaching the participative system, the higher would be performance goals, productivity, motivation, communication in all directions, and level of cooperation. The higher the score given to an organization, the more positive the view of those individuals with the school, or in other words their satisfaction. Conway (1976) speculated that participating in decision making would positively affect an individual's perception of their school as a system. The question which he addressed was

whether such perceptions reached a peak, at equilibrium or saturation.

The results of the study lead to two main conclusions. First, the relationship between perceived and desired participation in school decisions and the perceptions of the school as a system appeared currvilinear, with the peak of the curve occurring where present and desired levels of participation were equal; that is, decisional equilibrium. Both deprivation and saturation seemed to detract from an individual's satisfaction with the organization. Second, the concept of the decision deviation index provided a useful tool for monitoring a system. The measure was easily administered and provided a simple picture of the state of a system. It was clear that administrators would have to monitor their schools carefully in order to match the desire for participation of the individual teacher with opportunities to realize those desires. This research study was well designed and made an important contribution to the empirical study of participation in schools. Conway (1976) identified a potential weakness in the approach of Alutto and Belasco (1972) on the decision participation condition. The original instrument utilized a "yes-no" format, since concern was with respondents perceptions of participation, no matter what the extent. Conway considered it important that respondents indicate the degree of participation perceived or desired. Consequently a seven point continuum was created ranging from positive one "severe deprivation" to positive seven "equilibrium." Desired participation

was subtracted from actual participation, the difference equalling the directional value. For a given decision item, a negative result indicated deprivation, a positive result saturation. Finally, the directional values for each decision were summed. If the sum was zero, the respondent was considered to be in equilibrium; if the sum was negative in deprivation; and if the sum was positive in saturation. This procedure maintained the cancelling aspect of the original instrument, but allowed for differences in degree of deprivation or saturation which would not totally cancel. That is, an individual might have ten zero values, a positive three (severe saturation), and a negative two, so that the composite score would be positive one, indicating slight saturation.

Mohrman, Cooke, and Mohrman (1978) presented what they termed a "multidimensional view" of participation. They contended that although participation had been studied extensively, research had been limited in general to the vertical distribution of decision making involvement and influence. They believed that of equal importance was the content of decisions, that is, the horizontal decision domains. They supported their position by referring to theoretical literature on organizations which conceptualized them as multiple subsystems, each characterized by some form of functional domain and a set of decisional areas relevant to it. Research had considered the "degree of fit" between the individual and the amount of participation, but had largely ignored the fit between the individual and the domain of participation.

Mohrman et al. designed a study to examine patterns of desired and actual participation, and the relationship of such participation to certain affective states of organization members. The researchers proposed that at least two decisional domains would be salient to teachers: (a) that concerned with the technical-operational task of the school, instruction; and (b) that concerned with the managerial-support functions of the bureaucracy. It was proposed that teachers participated differentially in decisions within these two domains, and that this participation would be differentially associated with their job satisfaction.

Due to its significance and in the interests of continuity Mohrman et al. distributed the instrument developed by Alutto and Belasco (1972), to 797 teachers in 22 urban elementary and secondary schools in the mid-west. Perceived actual participation, ideal participation, and a deprivation score were calculated for each respondent. The twelve items on the instrument were factored into two substantive domains; technical and managerial. To measure satisfaction, respondents reported on a six-point scale, their satisfaction with various facets of their jobs. The items factored into two subscales, corresponding to the concepts of "intrinsic" and "extrinsic" satisfaction. Role stress was also measured using eight items which factored into two subscales corresponding to the concepts of "role ambiguity" and "role overload."

The results indicated that teachers felt they should have and perceived themselves to have significantly more participation in

technical than managerial domain decisions. Participation in the technical domain had a small significant positive correlation with both extrinsic and intrinsic satisfaction, and was related to reduced role ambiguity. Contrary to predictions, participation in decisions within the managerial domain was not related to any of the affective measures. Close analysis revealed a paradox; although teachers were more satisfied by participating in the technical domain, they registered the highest levels of decision deprivation in the managerial domain. Mohrman et al. (1978) offered two possible explanations: (a) teachers felt they had insufficient control over instructional activities and generalized these feelings to managerial decisions also; and (b) teachers may need a degree of managerial influence in order to insulate themselves against the organizational control systems and in so doing gain greater autonomy in instructional decision making.

The study clarified the fact that for this sample, satisfaction and role ambiguity were only associated with participation in decisions which directly affected instruction. Although they had alluded to the possibility that some decisions may be of greater significance than others, Alutto and Belasco (1972) had failed to identify this important distinction, because their instrument provided a composite deprivation index for all twelve decisions. Mohrman et al. (1978) believed that a major implication of their study was that a multidimensional approach could provide a more precise operationalization of important organizational constructs.

This increased precision could "increase the accuracy of organizational measurement and diagnosis" (p. 25). A practical implication of their findings was that administrators would be well served by discriminating between technical and managerial decisions when attempting to increase teacher participation.

Driscoll (1978) was another researcher interested in the relationship between participation and satisfaction. Unlike Mohrman et al. (1978) he was concerned with satisfaction with the organization and not job satisfaction. Driscoll hypothesized that participation in decision making helped to satisfy important psychological needs for responsibility and autonomy at work. Consequently increasing participation should result in greater satisfaction with the organization. A second hypothesis was that the greater the congruence between desired and perceived levels of participation, the higher satisfaction would be. Finally, he hypothesized that the congruence between desired and perceived levels of participation should be a better predictor of satisfaction than the level of perceived actual participation alone.

A survey instrument was mailed to the faculty of a small liberal arts college in New York state. Following analysis of the responses all three hypotheses were accepted. Driscoll felt the results demonstrated that individuals must desire participation for such opportunities to have positive effects on important organizational variables. He explained that some individuals may be very satisfied with minimal participation due to the high potential costs in terms

of time and energy. These conclusions supported those of Belasco and Alutto (1972) who had stressed the need for differential participative management approaches to meet differential participation desires within the organization.

Conclusion

This section investigated the relationship between participation and satisfaction. Alutto and Belasco (1972), possibly made the greatest contribution to the academic study of participation with their concept of a participation continuum. Based on their research they warned that increasing the degree of actual participation for all teachers could lead to dysfunctional consequences for those groups who considered themselves in decisional equilibrium and decisional saturation. Belasco and Alutto (1972) found that the teachers who stood to gain most from greater participation were those who viewed themselves as decisionally deprived and registered low satisfaction as a consequence. The authors found negative relationships between satisfaction, and job tension and militant attitudes.

Conway (1976) made use of Alutto and Belasco's (1972) techniques. He discovered that teachers whose actual and desired levels of participation were in equilibrium recorded the highest levels of satisfaction with their schools as systems. Both deprivation and saturation detracted from an individual's satisfaction with the institution.

Mohrman, Cooke, and Mohrman (1978) presented a multidimensional of participation, stressing the importance of decision "content" in addition to decision "quantity." They found that teachers desired and actually experienced greater participation in decisions in the "technical domain" than in the managerial domain. In addition it was only participation in the technical domain which was positively correlated with extrinsic and intrinsic satisfaction.

Driscoll (1978) explored the relationship between participation and satisfaction with the organization, with the faculty at a small liberal arts college. The nature of satisfaction and organizational setting were different from those studied by the previous researchers. The findings however, were consistent. Driscoll (1978) stressing that an individual had to desire participation on a particular issue before developing improved attitudes toward the institution.

The overall conclusion to be drawn is that the desire to participate in decision making was broadly distributed across the samples studied. Participation was only related to greater satisfaction with the job and institution, if the individual concerned perceived the amount of involvement and content of the decision to be appropriate.

Effects of Bureaucracy

In Chapter Two brief mention was made of Max Weber and his principles of bureaucratic organization. Benson (1983) investigated the extent to which teachers perceived their schools as bureaucracies

and the effect on their satisfaction with the organization. A random sample of 425 secondary teachers from the state of Victoria, Australia were asked to respond to two instruments. First, the School Organizational Inventory, a perceptual measure allowing teachers to record the way they saw their school and their position of power within it. Second, a satisfaction scale adopted from the work of Belasco and Alutto (1972). For the purposes of this study satisfaction was defined as the willingness of a teacher to remain in his present school despite minor inducements to leave.

The results indicated that teachers who perceived their school to be bureaucratically organized were significantly less satisfied than those who perceived their schools to be less bureaucratic. This finding supported those of Belasco and Alutto (1972) who found that teachers with lower satisfaction levels also possessed the highest level of decisional deprivation. Further analysis indicated that of the variables sex, age, qualifications, time served at the present school, school size, and school location, the only one which correlated with bureaucratization and job satisfaction, was time served at the school. The longer the time served, the less likely that the school was viewed as a bureaucracy.

Benson (1983) qualified his results by stressing that it was a one-shot study. It was noted however that "the fact this result is consistent with more recent studies, adds considerable weight to the central hypothesis" (p. 146). Pursuant to the central notion that teachers in bureaucratic schools might be more willing to leave,

Benson stated: "it is imperative for school administrators to examine carefully variables such as school organization and staff involvement in decision making in an attempt to improve teacher satisfaction and reduce teacher turnover" (p. 146). Clearly in this study teacher satisfaction was affected by factors in addition to their degree of participation in decision making. Such participation (or the absence thereof) was, however, an integral component.

Research on the effects of bureaucracy in education are important because the principles of bureaucratic organization run counter to many of the participative practices described in Chapter Two. Hoy, Blazovsky, and Newland (1983) pursued a similar idea with their examination of the relationship between two aspects of bureaucratic structure (centralization and formalization) and two aspects of alienation (alienation from work and alienation from expressive relations).

Hoy et al. (1983) considered "centralization" to be the locus of authority to make decisions affecting the organization, and basically describes member involvement in decision making. The conceptual basis for centralization was provided by two important elements: (a) hierarchy of authority--the extent to which tasks are routinely assigned to supordinates and subordinates are given freedom to accomplish those tasks unimpeded by superiors; and (b) participation in decision making--extent to which employees participate in setting goals and policies for the organization.

"Formalization" comprised two features: (a) job codification: the degree to which workers must consult rules and procedures as they fulfill their organizational roles; and (b) rule observation: the extent to which employees are observed and checked upon for violations. In essence formalization referred to the extent to which work had been standardized and the amount of leeway that was permitted from such standards.

"Alienation from work" was an employee's dissatisfaction with several characteristics of the organization including authority, position relative to other workers, opportunities for growth and development, and recognition and acceptance by superiors. "Alienation from expressive relations" was essentially dissatisfaction in social relations with work associates.

Having defined their terms and provided a theoretical basis for the study, Hoy et al. (1983) explained that two characteristics of professional orientation were a demand for autonomy in job performance and a strong voice in decisions and policies. It was their belief that denying teachers access to such power, would lead them to become dissatisfied with their work relations. In addition professionals possess technical competence in their field, and a set of internalized professional norms to guide their decision making. In light of these factors it was hypothesized that the degree of centralization and formalization would be directly related to the degree of alienation from work and expressive relations.

Appropriate instruments were developed and distributed to 2500 teachers in 41 New Jersey secondary schools. Since the school was the unit of analysis, not the individual, one-half the staff in each school responded to a measure of bureaucracy, the other half to measures of alienation. Mean scores for each school were then computed. Analysis of the data indicated that: (a) hierarchy of authority was strongly positively correlated with alienation from work; (b) participation in decision making was inversely related to work alienation; (c) rule observation was positively correlated with alienation from work; and (d) rule observation was positively correlated with alienation from expressive relations.

This study added support to the findings of Benson (1983). It seems that administrators would be well advised to rely on the professional judgement of their teachers, particularly in matters related to instruction, where the desire to participate is strongest (Belasco & Alutto, 1972). Hoy et al. (1983) presented a very convincing account of their research. Full details were provided of the instruments used, confidence levels employed, and reliability and correlation coefficients obtained. All the available evidence supported the conclusions which were presented.

In 1984, Hoy and Sousa investigated an issue related to bureaucracy; delegation of authority. The authors believed that delegation was a frequently overlooked form of participative management. Delegation, involved the entrusting of authority and responsibility to subordinates, such that they were free to make

specific decisions without consulting those above them in the hierarchy. Such a practice involved selective suspension of the chain-of-command principle.

A project was designed to investigate the relationship between delegation and the following dependent variables: (a) Hierarchy of authority, (b) job satisfaction, and (c) loyalty to superiors. The first two dependent variables were defined in the same terms used by Hoy, Blazovsky, and Newland (1983). Loyalty to superiors was the extent to which the principal was liked, respected, accepted, trusted, and followed by teachers. Hoy and Sousa (1984) hypothesized that there would be an inverse relationship between the delegation of decision making and teachers perceptions of the hierarchy of authority. It was hypothesized that there would be a positive relationship between delegation and teacher job satisfaction. Finally, a positive relationship was hypothesized between delegation and loyalty to the principal.

A representative sample of 55 public senior high schools located in 11 New Jersey counties were surveyed. The principal in each school was presented with six decision making levels: teacher, department head, assistant principal, principal, superintendent, and local school board. They were asked to indicate at which level each of ten decisions was made:

1. The number of department heads in the school?
2. The appointment of a teacher?
3. The amount of money to be allocated to each department?

4. How unallocated funds will be spent?

5. Whether a new course or subject will be introduced?

6. Whether a new program will be introduced?

7. The procedures for purchasing materials for the school?

8. Which suppliers or materials will be used?

9. To create a new department?

10. To create a new teaching or administrative position?

A "delegation of decision making" index was created by establishing a ratio in which the numerator was the number of decisions made by subordinates and the denominator the total number of within school decisions made. The index had a range from 0 to 1.00. The more decisions that were made by subordinates, the higher the value of the index and the greater the principal's propensity to delegate.

One-quarter of the faculty in each school, selected at random, responded to three measures of the dependent variables. All three measures had been developed and tested by previous researchers. When the responses were analyzed, all three hypotheses were accepted at the .01 level of significance.

Hoy and Sousa (1984) noted that the informal organization of a school represented an important source of potential leadership authority for a principal. Since principals who delegated seemed to enjoy greater teacher loyalty, it appeared reasonable to speculate that such principals had enlarged their domain of authority. In addition, referring to work by Blau and Scott, Hoy and Sousa (1984)

suggested that principals who enjoyed such loyalty would possibly find subordinates more willing to comply with their directives and increase their efforts to achieve organizational goals. Despite these potential benefits of delegation, the researchers found that 65% of the principals surveyed delegated no decisional authority in the ten important decision areas. Some of these principals stated that they sometimes allowed teachers to participate in joint decision making. On other occasions teachers were consulted and asked to provide information, but the final decision was made by the principal alone. In the researchers' view such practices however, frequently led to skepticism about the benefits of participation. Indeed they speculated that teacher participation in decision making that lacked influence may be of less benefit than no involvement at all.

In conclusion Hoy and Sousa (1984) theorized that many principals might be more concerned with their own position, status, and career than they were with the professional growth and development of subordinates. Other principals were possibly loath to share power due to insecurity. One important factor which grew out of the study was the necessity of drawing theoretical distinctions among delegated, consultative, and joint decision making. The authors stated: "Delegation of decision making maximizes participation; consultation minimizes participation. The term participation is simply too ambiguous and broad. The

time has come to more closely specify the meaning of involvement in decision making" (p. 329).

Hoy and Sousa (1984) speculated that the reason principals were unwilling to delegate was due to insecurity at the prospect of losing control of the organization. Belasco, Milstein, and Zaccarine (1975) investigated this relationship between participation and control. Their work was based on a hypothesis by Tannenbaum who had discovered a direct relationship between a system member's participation in decision making and the control exercised by administrative superiors over organizational activities. Tannenbaum's work had been done in industrial settings with blue collar workers. Consequently Belasco et al. (1975) decided to study the relationship between teachers' participation in decision making and the perceived influence they attributed to administrative superiors.

A questionnaire containing the 12 decision areas identified by Belasco and Alutto (1972) was sent to 668 elementary and secondary teachers in two western New York school districts. Respondents indicated whether they currently participated in these decision areas and whether they wished to participate. Subsequently the decisions were presented to an independent sample of teachers who categorized them as either "expressive issues" (those directly affecting content and form of instruction) or "instrumental issues" (those affecting the operation of the school).

Results indicated that the higher the level of actual and desired participation, the lower the perceived influence attributed to administrative superiors. Teachers were unwilling also to sacrifice participation in expressive issues in order to obtain or retain greater control of instrumental issues. The researchers concluded that Tannenbaum's hypothesis did not apply to educational organizations.

Belasco et al. (1975) offered an explanation for their findings. It was possible that teachers as professionals expected participation in decision making and were consequently unwilling to provide increasing control to administrators. Furthermore, as professionals they were perhaps unwilling to concede influence or control over their professional activities to administrators whom they viewed as being outside their professional cohort.

Conclusion

This section explored the relationship between bureaucracy and various dependent variables. Benson (1983) discovered that the teachers who perceived their schools to be bureaucratic organizations were significantly less satisfied than those who had no such perceptions. Hoy, Blazovsky, and Newland (1983) found that two principles of bureaucracy (hierarchy of authority and rule observation), were positively correlated with high alienation from work and expressive relations. Hoy and Sousa (1984) found delegation of decision making to subordinates, to be positively correlated with teacher job satisfaction and loyalty to superiors. In this

study however 65% of the principals indicated that they did not delegate any of the decision issues presented. Hoy and Sousa suggested that this unwillingness to delegate could be a result of a fear of losing power. The research of Belasco, Milstein, and Zaccarine (1975) supported this explanation, since teachers indicated that the greater their degree of participation, the lower the degree of control they perceived in their administrators.

It seems from this empirical evidence that changing the organizational structure of a school from a bureaucratic model to a participative model could lead to greater satisfaction among teachers, lower turnover, and more cooperative relations.

Such a change however would carry costs, most notably a reduction in the degree of control ascribed to administrators by their staff.

Participation and Productivity

James Conway (1984) commented:

> The notion of productivity in education is difficult to work with because the concept as derived from private sector applications usually implies: 1. a concern for higher profits, 2. increased worker production, and 3. quality of products--all three of which are difficult to measure operationally or even to define conceptually in education. (p. 27)

Noting these difficulties, a small number of studies have considered the relationship between participation and productivity --with productivity being loosely defined in all cases.

Greenblatt, Cooper, and Muth (1984) hypothesized that the greater the degree of participation in a school administrative

system, the more likely that teachers would show higher quality in their teaching behaviors, and as a consequence, higher academic attainment in their students. The study was conducted with 20 elementary schools in the northeast, with 25 teachers in each school completing "Profile of a School," an instrument based on the work of Rensis Likert (1967) (described in Chapter Two). The responses were categorized as follows: Group 1: Authoritarian; Group 2: Consultative-centralized; Group 3: Consultative-decentralized; Group 4: Participative. The dependent variable was measured by taking a random sample of 25% of the students in each school who then completed the "Our School and its Work" questionnaire. Eleven subscales focused on specific teacher behaviors including providing feedback, pacing, structuring, instructional time, and so forth. Analysis of data revealed that the four categories of schools were significantly different in terms of levels of perceived effectiveness.

Contrary to expectations, effectiveness ratings did not peak at the Group 4 schools, Participative. Consultative-centralized schools, Group 2, where principals consulted directly those staff concerned with specific issues, were considered to have the most effective teachers. Consultative-decentralized schools, Group 3, where principals consulted very frequently in a non-selective manner, were placed in second place. Participative schools, Group 4, and Authoritarian schools, Group 1, were placed third and fourth respectively.

Greenblatt et al. (1984) concluded that students appeared to identify as effective those teachers whom were free to teach rather than attend to administrative tasks, yet who were still consulted on issues that directly concerned the classroom. It is notable that the researchers failed to pursue the relationship between effective teaching and student achievement. Had they done so it would have been possible to compare the effects of participation and other forms of administrative system on productivity. This author speculates that a reason why Greenblatt et al. (1984) failed to pursue the relationship was due to the controversy which still surrounds the concept, effective teaching. In light of the often fervent debate which is provoked by the question of what constitutes effective teaching behavior, one should be cautious before making any generalizations based on this single study.

Richter and Tjosvold (1980) studied the relationship between student participation and attitudes, interaction, motivation and learning. The students were in grades 3 through 6 in three south-central Pennsylvania schools. The classes in each school were randomly assigned to one of two treatment conditions: (a) Student Participation--after one hour of discussion with peers and the teacher, students selected the topics and learning activities for social studies during the subsequent five weeks; and (b) Teacher Planned--the teacher announced the topics and learning activities and then encouraged student involvement. Several dependent variables were measured: (a) students' attitudes toward school and social

studies; (b) peer interaction in terms of direct and indirect aggression, and cooperation (recorded by direct observation); (c) motivation to work on class activities both supervised and unsupervised; and (d) achievement, measured by a multiple choice test jointly developed by the teacher.

The researchers' indicated that students in the participation condition showed significantly improved attitudes on the post-test. These students showed a higher frequency of positive interactions and greater internal motivation to remain on task during teacher absence from the room. Five of the seven participation classes recorded improved achievement scores, however the five classes in the teacher planned condition scored significantly higher on the test.

To conclude, Richter and Tjosvold (1980) restated that allowing students to participate had been positively associated with improved attitudinal measures. While improving their performance on the achievement test, this improvement was not as great as that obtained by students in the more traditional setting. Therefore if one considers achievement in learning to be the sole indication of productivity in education, then it must be conceded that participation was less effective than teacher centered instruction. Once again it is important to be cautious before making broad generalizations. This was a well designed controlled field experiment. Teachers in each of the experimental conditions were given training in the appropriate methods and allowed to practice

them before the experiment started. The observers who had to record peer interaction and motivation were also trained for their role. Pre and post tests were administered. The same activities and topics were covered in both conditions; the teachers in the planned condition merely adopted the topics selected by the students in the participation condition. In spite of its strengths, there were also limitations. The students were predominantly caucasian working class children. The duration of the experiment was short. Futhermore, it appeared that the students were not "taught" how to arrive at group decisions. Consequently, their unfamiliarity with the process may have had some affect on the dependent variables. This study illustrates some difficulties encountered when attempting to measure productivity in education.

McPartland and McDill (1971, 1974) studied the relationship between school stability (as indicated by rates of truancy, vandalism, and protest) and student participation in rule-making. Analysis of responses from 3,450 students indicated that both the content and procedures for establishing rules were significantly related to school stability. It was noted that stability depended more on student satisfaction with the procedures for making rules, namely the student government, than on the content of the rules themselves.

The contribution which this study makes to knowledge about the participation-productivity relationship is questionable. First, one

has to decide whether truancy rates and the other dependent variables were an adequate indicator of school productivity.

Second, it should be noted that the data on truancy, etc. were obtained by the self-reporting of the students. Third, multiple regression analysis revealed that individual student characteristics (sex, race, family socioeconomic status, and grade level), were significantly related to the dependent variables. Finally, when all the variables included in the analysis were combined, they only accounted for between .05 and .10 of the "explained variance" in the stability measures. "This suggests . . . the likelihood of other important but unmeasured variables which will better explain the dependent variables" (McPartland & McDill, 1974, p. 12).

Conclusion

This section has been concerned with the relationship between participation and productivity. Greenblatt, Cooper, and Muth (1984) concluded that students identified as effective those teachers whom were free to teach rather than attend to administrative tasks, yet were still consulted on issues that directly concerned the classroom. Richter and Tjosvold (1980) felt that allowing students to decide the topics and learning activities to be pursued was positively correlated to improvements in attitudinal measures. Participation was however, significantly less effective than teacher planned instruction, when measured in terms of student achievement scores. McPartland and McDill (1971, 1974) discovered a somewhat tenuous

relationship between student participation in rule-making decisions, and various indicators of school stability.

These studies have hopefully emphasized the point made at the beginning of this section. Attempting to identify relationships between participation in decision making and productivity is a very troublesome issue due to the vexed question of operational and conceptual definition of productivity.

Participation in Decision Making

Acknowledging that considerable research had been done into the hypothetical benefits of participation in decision making, Riley (1984) investigated the degree to which existing avenues for participation were being utilized. A questionnaire was mailed to a random sample of 750 teachers in the state of Iowa asking them to complete a two-part instrument. Part one contained items related to biographical data, and questions concerning teacher utilization of nine identified avenues for participation in decision making, namely: (a) support of teachers as board member in district of employment; (b) willingness to serve as board members if elected; (c) attendance at Association meetings (i.e., union affiliation); (d) active in collective negotiations; (e) attendance of teacher representative at board meetings; (f) voting in board of education elections; (g) active in district curriculum committees (i.e., planning unit); (h) active in faculty meetings; and (i) attendance at school district budget hearing. Part two determined actual and desired level of participation in 30 areas. The items fell into

three main categories: curriculum and instruction, personnel and teacher evaluation, and pupil evaluation and conduct. The items were divided into three groups each corresponding to one organizational level: classroom, building, and district. The type of involvement ranged from: (a) no participation, (b) provide information, (c) recommend decision, (d) influence decision, and (e) make decision.

The results were very enlightening and in some instances contrary to expectations. Teachers indicated that their actual involvement in decision making was greatest at the classroom level, where they influenced decisions. At the building level they tended, when involved, to offer information. Respondents indicated a desire for greater participation at all organizational levels than they actually experienced. The desire however, was not to make decisions; at the classroom level they desired more influence and at the building level to recommend decisions. Consistent with the findings of Mohrman, Cooke, and Mohrman (1978), Riley found that the desire to participate was related to the perceived appropriateness and relativeness of the decision making item.

It was speculated that teachers experiencing decisional deprivation would actively utilize the identified avenues for participation. Somewhat surprisingly Riley concluded that "... deprivation does not appear to be a reliable indicator of utilization. . ." (1984, p. 40). Testing revealed however, that the more actual participation experienced, the more that was desired.

Based on the research of Belasco and Alutto (1972) a negative relationship was hypothesized between desire for participation and years of teaching experience. Contrary to earlier findings, teaching experience was not a reliable indicator of a teacher's actual or desired participation.

Men were more willing to serve as Board members if elected, they were more active in collective negotiations and advocated more frequent attendance of teacher representatives at board meetings. Females tended to attend association meetings more frequently than their male colleagues; they were also more active in District Curriculum Committees and faculty meetings. These findings tend to suggest that male teachers were more militant than their female colleagues, who preferred to use other avenues of participation to improve the quality of education.

In this study teachers registered a desire to be involved in decision making at all organizational levels, not wishing to make decisions, but to exert influence and make recommendations. As Riley (1984) so poignantly observed: "The problem for administrators is how to accommodate such requests" (p. 43). This was provoked by the fact that of the currently available avenues for participation, activity in faculty meetings ranked only third after voting in board elections and attendance of teacher representative at board meetings. Activity in District Curriculum Committees ranked a distant fourth. Furthermore, teachers who considered themselves decisionally deprived at the classroom level, that is on issues

directly related to instruction, merely registered more frequent attendance at association meetings. Interestingly, it seemed such teachers believed that the answers to their classroom issues lay outside the school building.

Riley (1984) did not really address the perplexing question of why teachers who admitted they were most decisionally deprived at the classroom level failed to make greater use of attendance at faculty meetings. He suggested that administrators provide more avenues for participation in the form of various, temporary, building level committees to address specific issues like curriculum development and discipline policy formulation. As a closing remark, Riley commented: ". . . while teachers do want greater participation, the use of identified avenues for participation is selective" (p. 44).

An avenue of participation not included in Riley's study (1984) was school councils, comprising teachers elected by their peers to advise the principal on pedagogical and disciplinary issues. Isherwood and Taylor (1978) conducted a study comparing the perceptions of school council members, their peers, and the principal, on which decision items were appropriate for council review. They also investigated the relationship between the congruency of desired and actual decision items, and job satisfaction.

A questionnaire based on the conceptual framework of Belasco and Alutto (1972) was completed by all school council members, the

principals, and 25% of the staff in 20 schools in Quebec. Each respondent completed the 64 items indicating if the council actually participated and if they should participate. An individual Decisional Discrepancy Score was obtained for each respondent. Scores were summed and means obtained for each group.

Council members, principals, and peers achieved consensus for over 70% of the items on the extent and nature of the decisions which should be considered by the school council. Disagreement occurred on eight items, with council members and peers opposing principals on decisions which included teacher promotion and financial resource allocation.

Only one aspect of job satisfaction for teachers was related to operation of the school council; teacher-principal relations. While providing a valuable vehicle for developing improved communication with the principal, participation on school councils was not related to the other elements of teacher job satisfaction, financial reward and relations with students. The job satisfaction of principals in this study was not related to the activities of their school councils.

The results of this study indicated that teachers derived satisfaction from participating in decision making, facilitated by a formal body, a school council. These findings support those of studies cited previously: Mohrman, Cooke, and Mohrman (1978); Conway (1976); Belasco and Alutto (1972); Alluto and Belasco (1972). It must be noted however that Isherwood and Taylor study (1978)

used a different operational definition of satisfaction, consequently, it would be unwise to make broad generalizations.

Duke, Showers, and Imber (1980) reviewed a great deal of the empirical evidence which has been described in this chapter. They concluded that the majority of teachers were interested in greater participation in decision making. A study, conducted over a one year period in San Francisco suggested however, that teachers were loath to become involved (this was borne-out to a degree by Riley (1984)). Duke et al. (1980), after considering several explanations, believed that this unwillingness was because teachers considered the potential costs of involvement to exceed the potential benefits.

In order to test their hypothesis, Duke et al. (1980) described the potential costs and benefits in some detail. The first cost was "increased time demands." Evidence indicated that teachers derived the greatest source of satisfaction from classroom contact with students, other sources of satisfaction paled in comparison. Consequently, for teachers to choose to devote some already scarce instructional time to participate in decision making they would have to view such involvement as potentially more fulfilling than teaching. The authors believed that few teachers believed this to be true. The second cost was "lost autonomy." Many teachers enjoyed a relatively high degree of self-determination inside their classrooms. Few would be willing to sacrifice such personal autonomy, even to peers, engaged in group decision making. The third projected cost of participation was "risk of collegial

disfavor." Too close an identification with administration and the school authority structure could lead to being treated with suspicion by peers. Loss of peer respect, and being viewed as a dupe of the principal, would be a cost few would willingly incur. A fourth cost, often cited by active union members was "subversion of collective bargaining." Duke et al. (1980) speculated that efforts to decentralize decision making by involving teachers as individuals, not as members of a united professional group, could be regarded as a threat to the position of strength occupied by teacher organizations. Collective negotiation procedures allowed teachers to exert influence on school policy without risking manipulation by the administration. The fifth and final potential cost was "threat to career advancement." Generally progress into administration has been easiest for those who have demonstrated sound teaching ability. Some teachers might be unwilling to take time away from classroom duties to participate in decision making, and in so doing jeopardize the performance of their students.

Having read a large number of accounts of teacher involvement in decision making, Duke et al. (1980) outlined three potential benefits. First, "feelings of self sufficiency." A person who was "involved" in decision making and exerted "influence" on decisions which were made, would possibly experience a sense of accomplishing something of importance. Involvement alone however, would probably be insufficient to prompt such feelings. The second potential benefit was "ownership." Participation might give an individual

added confidence in their ability to control their actions and work environment. In addition sharing decision making might help an individual develop a sense of belonging and importance, thus countering feelings of anonymity sometimes associated with large organizations. The third benefit could be "workplace democracy." Some teachers could derive satisfaction from exercising what they believed to be their right to participate in deciding how their time and energy should be used on the job.

Duke et al. (1980) conducted their study with five junior high and high schools in San Francisco. The schools were located in urban and suburban settings, and had students from a variety of racial backgrounds. All the schools had avenues and opportunities for teachers to participate in decision making. A random sample of ten teachers from each school were chosen for 30 minute interview. During the interview each teacher was asked to describe what he or she perceived to be the costs and benefits of involvement in decision making. Following the open-ended question, the respondent rated the pre-specified costs and benefits.

Almost all the teachers gave low ratings to the costs and high ratings to the benefits. The only cost of major significance was "time," which was identified by 80% of the respondents even before they received the written instrument. A small number of teachers cited unexpected costs: (a) greater responsibility and shared blame for poor decisions; (b) elaborate pretense, "rubber-stamping" administrative desires; and (c) emotional drain, frustration,

disillusionment, and powerlessness. Other teachers proposed previously neglected benefits: (a) improved chances of promotion; (b) higher quality decisions; (c) greater likelihood of teacher compliance; and (d) close relations among faculty members.

Since the teachers rated the costs relatively low and potential benefits high, Duke et al. (1980) expected to find them anxious to participate. When questioned however, teachers were loath to participate, having derived little satisfaction from doing so. Over 50% of the teachers had either chosen not to pursue the opportunities which were available, or had deliberately refused chances when they have been presented. Of those who had participated in decision making during the previous year, the majority believed the benefits to have been minimal, voicing skepticism over the influence which their involvement had brought. They felt the participation was an attempt to create an illusion of teacher influence. As a consequence, although viewing the <u>potential</u> benefits of participation as being high, they had little confidence that such benefits would be <u>realized</u>.

In light of teachers' responses to this study:

> . . . involvement in decision making does offer teachers significant potential benefits which educational administrators and government bodies might view as important goals. . . . However . . . it would seem unwise to offer opportunities for shared decision making which do not include provisions for actual influence over decisions. (Duke, Showers, & Imber, 1980, p. 104)

The most notable limitation of this research was its small sample size. The data gathering procedures were thorough, and the

descriptive statistics supported the results. As a closing thought, it was interesting that neither the researchers, nor the teachers interviewed referred to effects on productivity as a consequence on participation. It appeared that all the issues raised were affective as opposed to concrete. This is one reason why it is difficult to present a purely empirical argument in favor or against participative management in educational organizations.

Conclusions

This section was concerned with teachers inclinations to become involved in decision making when such opportunities were available. Riley (1984), in a study of Iowa teachers, discovered that the more actual participation teachers experienced, the higher their desires for further participation. Somewhat perplexingly, the researcher also discovered that a teacher's sense of decisional deprivation was an unreliable indicator of his/her propensity to utilize available decision making avenues. The basic question this article raised for administrators was, how to involve those who wish to be involved.

Isherwood and Taylor (1978) investigated a different avenue of participation, school councils. These bodies, whose members were elected representatives of the teaching staff, advised and counseled the administration on pedogocial and disciplinary issues. The councils were considered useful by those who served on them and worked with them. Members indicated that they derived considerable satisfaction from them because they helped develop improved relationships with the administration.

Finally, Duke, Showers, and Imber (1980) discovered a disturbing attitude among teachers they interviewed. Despite identifying the potential benefits from participation as being high, they had little confidence that these benefits would be realized. Indeed, they went further, explaining that in many cases their participation had been encouraged to create an illusion of influence. The authors concluded that it would be unwise for an administrator to provide opportunities for shared decision making without accompanying provisions for actual influence.

Leadership and Participation in Decision Making

The final section involves the issue of leadership and participation by teachers. Kunz and Hoy (1976) addressed this issue in a study of 50 randomly selected New Jersey secondary schools. The theoretical and conceptual foundation for their work was provided by Herbert Simon's "Zone of Acceptance," and the styles of leadership first presented by the Ohio State Leadership Studies. The "Zone of Acceptance" concept referred to the range of behaviors within which the subordinate is ready to accept the decisions made by superiors. Subsequent writers refined the concept, identifying three basic areas within the zone: (a) organizational maintenance domain, for example, administrative directives dealing with "meeting deadlines" and "turning in accurate reports"; (b) personal domain, for example, issues of a highly personal nature such as "how faithful a teacher was to his spouse;" and (c) professional domain, issues in this domain involve professional judgment, for example, "methods

of disciplining students," "techniques for evaluating pupils," and "willingness to experiment." Early attempts at mapping zones of acceptance granted to administrators by teachers indicated that there was general agreement that the organizational maintenance domain was quite broad. By contrast, the personal domain was extremely narrow, with administrators as well as teachers questioning their legitimacy in this area. The personal domain was the source of greatest disagreement in terms of the legitimacy of administrative influence.

Leadership has frequently been represented in terms of two separate dimensions, "initiating structure" and "consideration." The former term refers to the establishment of well defined patterns of organization, avenues of communication, and methods of procedure. Consideration refers to perceptions of friendship, mutual trust, respect, and warmth in the relationship between the leader and members of his staff. Kunz and Hoy (1976) predicted that principals who received high performance ratings on both initiating structure and consideration would produce schools with a relatively broad zone of acceptance of teachers in professional domain decision issues.

A random sample of ten teachers from each school completed a 30 item "Professional Zone of Acceptance Inventory." Each respondent considered the items in terms of areas in which <u>their</u> principal might make unilateral decisions. They subsequently indicated their probable frequency of compliance in terms of a five point scale

from "always" to "never." The extensively researched Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire (LBDQ) was used to determine the leadership style of each school principal.

Results indicated that the widest professional zone of acceptance existed within schools where the principal was deemed strong in initiating structure and consideration. This finding supported the predicted relationship and was consistent with previous research. The authors speculated that effectiveness in leadership could be related to the leaders ability to obtain compliance from subordinates to directives which were outside their organizational maintenance domain. A surprising discovery was that initiating structure was the overriding factor related to the professional zone of acceptance of teachers. Contrary to initial expectations, principals who exhibited high initiating structure tended to have teachers with wide professional zones of acceptance irrespective of the principal's consideration. No relationship was found between the professional zone of acceptance, and several demographic variables.

The authors concluded that their findings conflicted with those of many previous studies carried out in industrial as well as educational organizations. It was generally accepted that superiors who emphasized the interpersonal aspects of the situation tended to be more successful than their more reserved task oriented colleagues. The present research suggested however, that the principal who demonstrated high initiating structure gained greater teacher

acceptance, so would be more likely to effect change in the organization.

It is the author's belief that resistance to participative management has been due, in part, to its associations with the human relations school of management (described in Chapter Two). The study by Kunz and Hoy (1976) demonstrated however, that the principals who had the widest professional zone of acceptance were high on initiating structure and consideration. Participative management practices would appear to provide an effective vehicle for achieving this "ideal" combination. By working with teachers the principal may be able to develop respect, trust, and warmth. The findings indicated that teachers would not be content with feelings alone. They also desire and expect assistance in carrying out their professional tasks. It would be important therefore, for teachers to participate and exert influence on those decisions which directly effect instruction.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed a considerable number of empirical studies into the relationship between participation in decision making and various dependent variables, notably satisfaction and productivity. Anderson (1959), in a review of research into the effects autocratic and democratic leadership conducted during the previous twenty years concluded there was no conclusive evidence supporting democratic (participative) leadership on the grounds of improved student achievement. Piper (1974), in a rare laboratory experiment, found

that groups made "better," that is, more accurate, decisions than the most able individuals working alone.

Alutto and Belasco (1972) possibly made the most significant contribution to the field of research into participation in schools. They conceived of participation as a continuum ranging from "deprivation", through "equilibrium," to "saturation." They explained that each individual had "actual" and "desired" levels of participation in decision making. By determining the difference between these two levels it would be possible to place an individual teacher on the continuum. They discovered that teachers who believed themselves decisionally deprived (that is, their level of actual participation was lower than their desired level) recorded significantly lower levels of job satisfaction, than did teachers in either of the other two decision conditions. Belasco and Alutto (1972) were able to conclude that the desire for high levels of participation was not equally distributed among the teachers studied. Consequently, they cautioned practicing principals, that raising the level of actual participation for certain groups of teachers could have serious dysfunctional consequences.

Mohrman, Cooke, and Mohrman (1978) recommended that a "multidimensional view" be taken of participation. It was not enough to consider the "quantity" of decision making; decision content or "quality" should also be investigated. Building on the work of Belasco and Alutto (1972), Mohrman et al. (1978) discovered that only participation in the "technical domain" was positively correlated

to intrinsic and extrinsic satisfaction. Essentially, teachers wanted to participate in decisions affecting instruction directly, and not decisions connected with the "managerial" aspects of the school. Administrators, they suggested, should consider the nature of the issue as well as the amount of involvement, before encouraging participation. Driscoll (1978) verified the findings of both Belasco and Alutto (1972) and Mohrman et al. (1978). His research indicated that an individual had to "desire" participation on a particular issue before that involvement would positively affect satisfaction.

Benson (1983) found a negative correlation between the degree of bureaucracy perceived by teachers and their level of job satisfaction. Hoy, Blazovsky, and Newland (1983) found a high positive correlation between two principles of bureaucracy (hierarchy of authority and rule observation) and alienation from work and relationships. Finally, Hoy and Sousa (1984) found that schools where principals delegated some decision making authority and responsibility, teachers recorded high levels of satisfaction and loyalty to the principal. It was noted that 65% of the principals surveyed did not delegate any decisions.

A limited number of empirical studies into the effects of participation on productivity were reviewed. Greenblatt, Cooper, and Muth (1984) found that in the view of students, teachers demonstrating the greatest competence, were also consulted by administrators on issues which directly concerned them. Richter and Tjosvold (1980) concluded that allowing students to participate

in the selection of topics and learning activities had a positive effect on their attitudes to school and the subject. Improvements in student achievement however, were not significant. Inadequate definitions of productivity, both conceptually and operationally, made it impossible to formulate any firm conclusions about the effects of participation and this dependent variable.

Riley (1984) found that teachers desired greater participation in decision making at all levels; classroom, building, and district. Despite these desires, the level of deprivation was not a reliable indicator of utilization of available decision making channels. This unexpected discovery prompted the difficult question, how can administrators accommodate such desires? Duke, Showers, and Imber (1980) determined that teachers considered the potential benefits of participation exceeded the potential costs. Surprisingly, they also discovered that teachers were generally unwilling to take part since they believed they had little chance of "realizing" the benefits. Prior experience with participation, made them extremely skeptical about the degree of influence which they would be allowed by administrators.

Given the review of empirical evidence, what generalization may be drawn about the affects of participation in decision making in educational organizations? The general indication seems to be that allowing teachers to participate in decisions which directly affect instruction, to the degree that each individual wishes to be involved, might lead to higher levels of individual satisfaction

with the job and the organization. The relationship between participation and productivity was so tenuous that generalizations are impossible. The following quotation is a succinct and forceful commentary on the state of knowledge about the affects of participation:

> Empirical investigations have not produced consistent, unambiguous findings sufficient to guide practice, in part because researchers' lack a common foundation for their work. In the absence of general agreement concerning the meanings of the concepts and questions to be explored, each researcher faces the task of defining terms, developing hypotheses, and creating ways to organize evidence, almost from scratch. As a result studies tend to have a ad hoc quality, sometimes generating interesting data, but rarely contributing to building a useful body of knowledge. (Imber & Duke, 1984, p. 25)

CHAPTER V

PARTICIPATIVE MANAGEMENT: METHODOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL ISSUES

Introduction

In spite of the impressive volume of empirical evidence, representing over forty years of inquiry, it is impossible to formulate generalizations about the effects of participative management. In other words, there is no empirical basis upon which to ground recommendations for practicing managers. The purpose of this chapter is to elaborate two possible explanations for the equivocal evidence:

1. The research designs were methodologically flawed.

2. The research was based on erroneous epistemological and ontological assumptions. To re-state, either the research designs were deficient, or, the research was attempting to resolve unanswerable questions. These explanations are developed by examining methodological issues; the positivist paradigm; the interpretive paradigm; and the intellectual turmoil in organizational theory.

Methodological Issues

Distinct elements of the methodological explanation are contained within the analyses in Chapters Three and Four. It is important, however, to emphasize the research design deficiencies which may account for the equivocal evidence on participative management.

While laboratory environments enhance the experimental control of variables, and therefore allows causal inferences to be made, the artificiality of the situation may limit generalizability to real organizational settings. This is certainly true of the research on participation. It is extremely difficult to predict the effects of participation in a school, based upon an experiment involving participation in the parlor game "Twenty Questions." The samples used in these experiments were almost exclusively university undergraduates. Again one raises the question whether blue and white-collar workers are represented by such subjects. Experimental designs are intended to measure the effects of a treatment on an experimental group when compared with a control group. In several of the participation experiments, there is some question whether the intended treatment was actually applied.

Correlational studies have the advantages of being conducted in field settings. This advantage was more than off-set by the vague and inconsistent operational definition of terms. One must acknowledge the philosophical difficulties associated with defining productivity in education. One encounters similar difficulties with satisfaction. It is difficult to generalize about the effects of participation on this dependent variable since it was variously defined in terms of quality of decision making, quantity of decision making, relationships with peers, relationships with superiors, absenteeism, and willingness to leave the organization.

Many of the multivariate experimental studies are considered "classics" in the participation literature. It is impossible to formulate generalizations, however, since the investigators manipulated numerous independent variables, in addition to participation in decision making. One general observation which springs from these studies: The effects of participation are influenced by the nature of the individuals involved, and the context in which participation occurs. Nature and context, therefore, are two important variables which warrant examination in their own right.

Controlled field studies, being conducted "in situ" have a high degree of external validity. Because they are experimental studies, causal inferences can be drawn from results. Despite design strengths, the results from the participation studies were conflicting. For example, Coch and French (1948) conducted a famous study at a pajama factory in which the experimental participation group recorded increased levels of productivity. Fleishman (1965) replicated this study at a dress factory. He found results similar to that of Coch and French with one important difference: both the control group and the experimental participation group increased levels of productivity.

This author contends that the equivocal evidence on participative management may be explained due to deficiencies in research methodologies. One could posit that more rigorous application of sound research practices will generate the necessary

data to formulate generalizations. One's willingness to accept this explanation and proposition is dependent upon one's paradigmatic position. Attention now turns to an alternative explanation, which highlights the importance of the paradigmatic issue.

The Positivist Paradigm

Burrell and Morgan (1979) in addition to several other authors (Clark, 1985; Griffiths, 1983; Culbertson, 1981) stated that social theory, including organization theory, has been dominated by positivism. This is particularly apparent in the literature on participative management. Despite the fact that a large number of scholars have been labelled positivists, however, binding the work of a group of theorists together in such a way that they may be regarded as approaching theory and inquiry in a similar way, ". . . does not imply complete unity of thought" (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 23). Indeed, Guba (1985) comments, ". . . you can find in the literature almost as many versions of the positivist 'manifesto' as there are authors" (p. 80). It is important, however, to understand the general assumptions which underpin the search for generalizations about participative management.

Axioms of the Positivist Paradigm

Based on the interpretation of several positivist writers, Guba (1985) presented axioms of positivism which he felt ". . . constitute a fair statement of the positivist position. . ." (p. 82). Having reviewed the interpretations of several other authors (Bryant, 1985; Griffiths, 1983; Guba & Lincoln, 1982; Willower, 1980; Bates,

1980; Hoy, 1978; Greenfield, 1974), this author considers Guba's axioms to be accurate.

Axiom 1: The nature of reality (ontology). A single, independent reality exists which is tangible. Reality may be broken down into independent variables and processes, any of which may be studied independently of the others. Through disciplined inquiry it is possible to converge on that reality until, finally, it can be predicted and controlled.

Axiom 2: The inquirer-respondent relationship (subject-object dualism). The inquirer is able to maintain a discrete distance from the object of inquiry, neither disturbing it nor being disturbed by it. The investigator is able to take what Putnam (1981) termed the "God's Eye View" (p. 49).

Axiom 3: The purpose of inquiry (generalization). The aim of inquiry is to develop a nomothetic body of knowledge. Such knowledge is best encapsulated in nomological generalizations which are truth statements independent of both time and context. Essentially generalizations are made by identifying similarities among units.

Axiom 4: The nature of explanation (causality). Every action may be explained as the result (effect) of a cause that precedes the effect temporarily (or in simultaneous with it).

Axiom 5: The role of values in inquiry (axiology). Inquiry is value free and can be guaranteed to be so by virtue of the methodology that is employed; "the facts speak for themselves."

In summary the positivist position contends that an independent reality exists, which may be identified and studied by rigorous application of scientific method. The method provides an effective defense against pollution of the facts by the values of the investigator. Once isolated, facts make it possible to formulate predictions and "law-like" generalizations, which take the form of "if-then" statements.

This positivist paradigm depends, in large measure, upon the image of a coherent and unified natural science. Bates (1980) characterized this natural science as "impartial examination of theoretical approaches to reality which may be checked by objective measurement and observation conducted according to universally accepted criteria of truth and validity" (p. 5). Bates cited Mulkay who presented quite a different picture of natural science: "Contrary to the standard view, it seems that scientific knowledge is not stable in meaning, not independent of social context and not certified by the application of generally agreed procedures and verification" (p. 5). An increasingly vocal group of critics express the view that the theories of sciences are essentially constructed by scientists.

Guba and Lincoln (1982) provided several examples from the disciplines of natural science which supported this "constructionist" interpretation.

Against naive realism. In physics the concept of particles has been substituted by that of standing quantum (electromagnetic)

wave functions that are not "realized" except by the action of an observer, who thereby literally "creates" reality.

Against subject-object dualism. Discovery of the Heisenberg Indeterminacy Principle in physics, which asserts that the mere act of observation alters what is being observed and makes portions of the phenomenological field inaccessible to the investigator. Contrary to traditional claims, investigators are capable of disturbing the investigated phenomena and in turn are disturbed by them.

Against generalizability. Cronbach observed that generalizations "decay" in the same way that radioactive materials do, so that after a period of time, a generalization is more history than science.

Against causality. In the medical world the search for the cause of cancer has been replaced by an effort to understand the variety of interactions between genes and environment that are implicated in the development of cancer in any given individual.

Against value independence. The claim of value independence has led to some noticeably bad consequences, imposing a ritual of method, limiting the range of knowledge accessible to inquiry, eliminating moral decision making from the arena of science, and obscuring the problem of balance among views behind a facade of objectivity.

It appears doubts are being raised by scholars from within the natural sciences, about the neutral and impartial nature of their

disciplines. In light of such uncertainty Bates (1980), as well as others, questioned the wisdom of adopting the natural science model for social/behavioral science inquiry:

> . . . the model of traditional science may be an inadequate and misleading, even ideological, representation of the process of science-which is rather, a process of negotiation between competing claims influenced in its assumptions by social and political factors and subjected to constant amendment and change. (p. 6)

The implication seems to be that the claims made by positivists about the merits of usefulness of the natural science model, would no longer be endorsed unanimously by natural scientists.

The Interpretive Paradigm

Burrell and Morgan (1979) described scholars within this paradigm as striving to understand the world as it is, seeking to comprehend the fundamental nature of the social world at the level of subjective experience. The social world is viewed as an emergent social process which is created by the individuals concerned. Social reality is considered little more than a network of assumptions and intersubjectively shared meanings.

Axioms of the Interpretive Paradigm

The basic tenets supporting the interpretive paradigm are presented in slightly different forms by different authors. Having reviewed the presentations of Bates (1980) and Greenfield (1979, 1974), this author considered the axioms presented by Guba and Lincoln (1982) to be representative.

Axiom 1: The nature of reality. There is not a single objective reality which may be studied independently. Rather the

social world is one of multiple constructed realities that can be studied holistically. Since multiple realities are available, inquiry into them will inevitably diverge. Prediction and control are unlikely outcomes of such endeavor. The best that can be hoped for is some degree of "verstehen" (understanding).

Axiom 2: The inquirer-respondent relationship. Unlike logical positivism which promotes the ability to maintain subject-object dualism, the phenomenological paradigm asserts that the inquirer and object of study inevitably interact and influence one another. Such mutual interaction will be particularly prominent when the 'object' of inquiry is another human being.

Axiom 3: The purpose of inquiry. The aim of inquiry should be to develop an idiographic body of knowledge which is best encapsulated in a series of "working hypotheses" which describe the individual case. Bates (1980) explained the purpose in these terms:

> the phenomenological view begins with the individual and seeks to understand his interpretation of the world around him. . . . the aim of investigation is to understand how the construction of reality goes on at one time and place and to compare it with what goes on in different times and places. . . . the hope for a universal theory lapses into multi-faceted images as varied as the cultures which support them. (p. 7)

Axiom 4: The nature of explanation. An action may be explained in terms of multiple interacting factors, events, and processes that shape it and are part of it. Since interaction manifests itself as mutual and simultaneous shaping, inquirers can at best establish plausible inferences about the patterns of such shaping

in a given case. There is not intention of establishing cause and effect relationships.

Axiom 5: The role of values in inquiry. From the phenomenological standpoint, inquiry is value bound in several ways:

1. Inquirers are influenced by the inquirer's values as expressed in the choice of the problem, and in the framing, boundary, and focusing of that problem.

2. Inquiry is influenced by the choice of substantive paradigm that guides the investigation into a problem.

3. Inquiry is guided by the inquiry paradigm that guides the investigation into the problem.

4. Inquiry is influenced by the values that inhere in the context, that is, social and cultural norms.

5. It follows from the previous statements that inquiry is either "value resonant" (reinforcing or congruent) or "value dissonant" (conflicting). Problem, substantive paradigm, inquiry paradigm, and context must all be congruent, exhibiting value resonance, if a particular inquiry is to produce meaningful results.

Careful consideration of these axioms of the interpretive paradigm, presents a dramatically different world view to that supported by the axioms of positivism. The epistemological differences between the paradigms have spawned debates on methodological issues. In Guba's (1985) view however:

> If the distractions are reduced simply to those of method, the basically incommensurable nature of these two sets of basic beliefs is obfuscated, leading to the delusion that some

> accommodation or rapproachment is possible between them, when, in fact, hard choices must be made. (p. 85)

Intellectual Turmoil in Organizational Theory

Lincoln (1985) observed that so long as belief systems are widely shared within a culture, it appears holistic and internally consistent. Once such belief systems begin to disintegrate, cultures become fragmented and at odds with themselves. Lincoln asserted that such disintegration was occurring within the disciplinary paradigm concerned with organizational theory. The result was a change in basic beliefs about the nature of organizations. This disciplinary shift was the outcome of the shift occurring in the epistemological and methodological assumptions undergirding the conduct of disciplined inquiry. In the author's view, this movement had shaken confidence in hitherto unquestioned assumptions about the nature of reality. Traditional accounts of how knowledge was generated, no longer stood unquestioned.

The academic and scholarly study of educational administration is a relatively recent development. In articles tracing the development of educational administration, as a field of study, Griffiths (1983) and Willower (1983) explained that "the theory movement" coincided with the beginning years of the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA) around 1954. Being so young, the discipline turned to more established fields, and as a consequence, "The theories used in educational administration are ordinarily adopted from the social sciences. . ." (Willower, 1980, p. 1). Few contemporary commentors on educational

administration would contest Culbertson's (1981) statement that "Logical positivism has had an enormous impact upon educational administration during the last three decades, especially in relation to the theory movement" (p. 2). To restate briefly: educational administration has been dominated by the positivist paradigm of social science, particularly regarding organizational theory.

Due to the apparent paradigm shift occurring in organizational theory (Lincoln, 1985), educational administration has been thrown into "intellectual turmoil" (Griffiths, 1979, p. 43). This turmoil has centered on the question of the nature of organizations.

Greenfield's Interpretive View of Organizations

The challenge to the traditional conception of organizations may be traced to a paper presented to the Third International Intervisitation Programme on Educational Administration in Bristol, England, in 1974. In that paper Thomas B. Greenfield revealed what he believed to be a "new perspective" on the study of organizations. His address in large part covered many of the issues previously described in this chapter. He critiqued the philosophical and methodological tenets of positivism, and presented in their stead, a interpretive view which lead to the concept of organizations as "invented social reality" (1974, p. 7). Greenfield posed three thought provoking questions for the assembled scholars of administration to consider: Where do the ideas based in phenomenology leave the notion of "organization"; what of the science that studies organizations; where does a profession of educational

administration which bases its practice on this science, now find itself? (1974, p. 13). As might be imagined, a paper which challenged the paradigm which had bounded theory and research during the previous thirty years, evoked heated response. Before exploring some responses however, it is important to elaborate Greenfield's conception of organizations.

Following his original paper (1974), Greenfield published other articles (1978, 1979, 1980), in which he restated his views on the conduct of research and formulation of theory in educational administration. His 1980 article however presented the most focused explanation of the phenomenological perspective of organizations. While chiding those positivists who viewed "facts" as ". . . realities that lie strewn about their world as pebbles lie on the seashore" (p. 29), Greenfield stressed that his ideas were intended to stimulate argument, and were not a blueprint for organizational reality. He presented nine propositions which were to serve as heuristic devices, the only claim for them being ". . . that they weave meaningfully together what some people have defined as the limits of knowledge with what others have experienced as the reality of organizations" (p. 39).

Proposition 1: Organizations are accomplished by people and people are responsible for what goes on in them. Organizations are not independently existing entities, in the sense that, say a mineral is an entity. Rather organizations are the result of the creative and talented actions of human beings. Creativity may be

manifest in many different forms and is unpredictable, and so, in consequence, are organizations. An organization "is a set of people caught within a definition of how they shall relate to each other" (p. 39). Greenfield referred to Max Weber who stated "Having spun a web of meaning to make sense of the world man is caught in it. The world makes no sense without the web. Man must make it, yet the web both constrains his action and makes it possible" (Greenfield, 1980, p. 34). Organizations for Greenfield were one such web of meaning.

Proposition 2: Organizations are expressions of will, intention, and value. Organizations provide frameworks, and as such are sets of instructions for living one's life. These instructions do not come from without however, but are manifestations of what people want to do, or what they think they must do. When studying organizations it is possible to distinguish between them by identifying how the instructions for living and acting vary across groups of people who repeatedly interact. The traditional science of organizations sought to discover and understand the control mechanism within organizations, in the hope that it would allow people to control the mechanism of control. Such mechanisms were considered separate from people, devices through which an independent, organizational will could be forced on human intention. Greenfield contested such a conception, stating that individuals, and not organizations, had intentions. It was merely a question of whose will would prevail, "Learning to be in an organization is

a matter of bending others to one's will and of being bent by others' wills" (1980, p. 40).

Proposition 3: Organizations express becoming, not being. Organizations are in a constant state of flux, so there is no ultimate reality about organizations. The nature of the reality which exists at a given moment in time will be dependent upon whose will and intentions are accepted by the largest majority. Reality is constantly reshaped and created "as what was becomes what is and both form what will be" (Greenfield, 1980, p. 40).

Proposition 4: Facts do not exist except as they are called into existence by human action and interest. The study of organizations has been characterized by a search for a theory which would express and explain human action in the same way that Newton's laws of thermodynamics explained the motion of the planets. With the discovery of such a theory of human action, would come the ability to predict and control organizational functioning. The merits of logical empiricism, which had been responsible for many of the advances in the physical world, were embraced enthusiastically by students of the social world. Greenfield, referred to Griffiths who painted a vivid picture of the universal theory:

> A theory of administrative behavior will make it possible to relate what now appear to be discrete acts to one another so as to make a unified concept. The great task of science has been to impose an order upon the universe. . . . This is the great task of theory in the field of educational administration. Within a set of principles yet to be formulated, it will be possible to recognize interrelationships among apparently discrete acts . . . possible to predict behavior of individuals within the organizational framework . . . possible to make decisions that will be directed toward the solution of problems,

> have clear definitions, and will contribute to the whole concept of administration. It will be more easily understood because it will use concepts that have the same meaning to all in the profession. (1980, p. 42)

Greenfield's response to this almost utopian image, was one of skepticism. He referred to the doubts which had surfaced in the physical world about the ability to generate unclouded knowledge. Consequently, he questioned whether such knowledge could ever be possible in the social world, "where facts arise not only from what is outside but also from what is within the subjective reality" (1980, p. 42).

Proposition 5: Man acts and then will judge the action. Facts of themselves are of no significance, it is mans' judgement of them which is important. Facts decide nothing, it is people who decide about them. Greenfield questioned how an administrator could make a logical rational decision flow from the facts as opposed to flowing from attitudes toward the facts, or from personal values. In fact, Greenfield (quoting Hodgkinson) stated "the intrusion of values into the decision making process is not merely inevitable, it is the very substance of decision" (1980, p. 44).

In the social world, Greenfield believed that facts are brought into play by actors to support a particular view or demonstrate a "truth." Therefore facts were constantly being refocused and recombined to demonstrate new truths. The fundamental difficulty in the study of organizations, which science could not address, was not in the realm of facts, but in that of values.

Proposition 6: Organizations are arbitrary definitions of reality woven in symbols and expressed in language. Organizations are a statement to individuals how to be. They are a context or framework defined by others for the individual, and one which the individual may define for himself/herself. The struggle which is played out in life is to establish which definitions are to prevail over others.

Proposition 7: Organizations expressed as contexts for human action can be resolved into meaning, moral order, and power. Reality within an organization comprised an intricate mixture of meaning, moral order, and power. Greenfield explained the "trinity of organizational reality" (1980, p. 45) with reference to Anthony Giddens:

> . . . the production of society is brought about by the active constituting skills of its members, but draws upon resources, and depends upon conditions, of which they are unaware or which they perceive only dimly. Three aspects of the production of interaction can be distinguished: those of the constitution of meaning, morality, and relations of power. (p. 46)

Proposition 8: There is no technology for achieving the purposes organizations are to serve. Organizations are sets of man made instructions to people on how to be and act, announcements as to which moral order is best, and schemes that distribute power among people. These instructions are set within a model "for" action which permits people to deal with each other and carry out these intentions.

Proposition 9: There is no way of training administrators other than by giving them some apocalyptic or transcendental vision

of the universe and of their life on earth. Greenfield posed a challenging question: in the absence of a science to explain human action in organizations, and no technology to determine what values are best, how can administrators be trained to serve their organizations beneficially? He felt that an administrator should possess insight into the joys, ironies, and tragedies of life. Such a person should appreciate that life and human spirit can take many forms and express itself in many realities. Greenfield suggested that trainee administrators be placed in environments which are alien to all they regard as normal and natural. In so doing they would be exposed to some of the valued organizational realities in which people live their lives. The intention would be to send the administrator on a few journeys through the doors in the walls of reality in the hope that upon their return they would see life in more complex, ambiguous, and human terms. Greenfield turned to the work of Alders Huxley to support his proposal:

> But the man who comes back through the Door on the Wall will never be quite the same as the man who went out. He will be wiser but less cocksure, happier but less self-satisfied, humble in acknowledging his ignorance yet better equipped to understand the relationship of words to things, of systematic reasoning to the unfathomable Mystery which it tries, forever vainly to comprehend. (1980, p. 49)

The nine propositions outlined, are Greenfield's conceptions of organizations founded upon the interpretive paradigm. At the core of his argument was the distinction which Max Weber drew between knowledge which comes from "Verstehen" (understanding) and "Eklaren"

(explanation). In the natural sciences, behavior can only be explained from the external vantage point, consequently the observer is obliged to impose meaning. In, what Germans call "cultural sciences," it is possible to achieve subjective understanding of the actions of component individuals. The implication of this distinction, is that social science differs fundamentally from natural sciences. Consequently the study of organizations must be founded upon a logic of inquiry and methodology which also differs. In Greenfield's opinion the path to verstehen in organizations lay outside the positivist paradigm.

In a characteristically forthright statement about traditional research in organizations, Greenfield stated:

> The pursuit of a set of universal, objective, and "scientific" propositions about organizations . . . has led to a science of organizations that is no science, to a definition of organizations that excludes much of what we want to study in them and to a failure of methodology and techniques in the face of the moral and existential questions that are embedded in organizational life. (1980, p. 28)

Making such comments about the well intentioned efforts of many respected scholars in the field of educational administration, inevitably provoked response.

Positivist Response to the Interpretive View of Organizations

Articles have been written specifically analyzing and critiquing Greenfield's work (Hills, 1980, 1977, 1975; Gibson, 1977), as well as reflecting on the history and current status of theory and research within the discipline (Griffiths, 1983, 1979, 1977, 1975; Willower, 1983, 1980, 1979, 1975; Culbertson, 1981; Bates, 1980).

Despite the turmoil which Willower's work has created, "The majority of scholars in educational administration, however, still hold for traditional theory" (Griffiths, 1983, p. 218). Perrow (cited in Griffiths, 1979) offered an explanation for this resilience:

> . . . the reader should bear with me in the quite painful process of trying to think oneself out of a paradigm one has lived with, even contributed to. It is difficult to think that one's work . . . while not wrong in any normal sense, is largely irrelevant in the face of notions that were dimly recognized but put aside. (p. 44)

Here one gains a sense of a dedicated scholar having to "unlearn" much of that which had hitherto been inviolate; such a process takes time.

Other reasons for the continued domination of the scientific approach and the traditional conception of organizations as independent rational entities, may be found in the arguments of proponents. Willower (1979) asserted that phenomenologists had incorrectly equated science with positivism, and used it as a "straw man." Positivism had made an important contribution to science through efforts to clarify language and procedures. Its emphasis on operational definitions being particularly significant. Positivism was however, too narrow to capture what inquiry was about. From Willower's perspective, inquiry had two sides, the creative and the critical. The creative side had to do with curiosity, conjecture, and invention of concepts, ideas, and explanations. The critical side had to do with skepticism, doubt, and the process of falsification, the effort to disprove hypotheses. The creative side was grounded in the desire to explain, with very

little structure. The critical side was aimed at refutation, with a more rigid structure and public procedures. He held that critics of science as too mechanistic did a disservice to the creative side of inquiry. Those who criticized it as mere ideology stinted its critical side. Willower felt that proper inquiry blended the free wheeling creation of ideas with critical efforts to disprove those same ideas.

In a more combative posture Willower (1980) criticized the phenomenological scholar of social science on several grounds. "In order to argue about epistemology responsibly, it is necessary that the debaters present their views on what constitutes knowledge" (p. 7, 8). He felt that phenomenologists had united in their opposition to the scientific notion of ideas as hypotheses to be publically tested, and yet failed to present an epistemological alternative. He also referred to the concept of systems, an abstraction which many phenomenologists felt had been reified. They charged that systems were treated as things, particularly organisms which had certain needs, struggled for survival, and adapted to their environments. Willower (1980) conceded that system theories neglected people as individuals, their concepts placing them in categories. He emphasized however, that the purpose of some kinds of social science was the study of people as members of collectivities. Indeed such endeavors had enriched understanding of human beings, since they existed in social contexts, not in social vacuums. The charge of reification was unjustified, in Willower's view:

> Modern theorists see systems and organizations as concepts, not as things. Concepts and theories are the tools of inquiry, and the aim is to use these tools to direct and account for observations. Thoughts and observations, not things, are the immediate subject matter of inquiry. (p. 13)

In a more conciliatory tone, Willower (1980) agreed with some of the methodological criticisms raised by the phenomenologists. They held that the study of school organizations had been restricted by rigid adherence to narrow quantitative methods. Such practices failed to capture the meaning of organizational life as it was experienced by participants; statistical procedures and instruments were pale shadows of social reality. Furthermore, people were treated as mere objects to be measured, by researchers claiming value neutrality but taking certain kinds of values for granted. The overall outcome was that exploration was achieved at the expense of understanding. In response, Willower advocated greater use of qualitative methods in the study of schools, but emphasized that "methods are fundamentally tools that should be freely chosen to fit intended purposes" (1980, p. 11).

Willower (1980) also endorsed the critics contention that every point of view reflected certain values and ideologies. It was for this very reason that the traditionalists placed such importance on the norms of inquiry which required that ideas be subjected to public tests aimed at disproof. Observing such norms would help reduce the influence of personal biases, values, and ideologies, on the assessment of ideas. Willower asserted that commitment to such public processes of inquiry reflected open mindedness and willingness

to modify or discard ideas found wanting. Rejection of such processes (which was the proposal of many phenomenologists) indicated closed mindedness and suggested that the position in question consisted little more than the values and ideology of its adherents. It seems that Willower placed great faith in the canons of the scientific method to protect investigators from themselves.

These responses to the epistemological and methodological criticisms of phenonemologists, reflect the opinions held by proponents of the logical positivist paradigm in educational administration. Hoy (1978) was even more trenchant in his convictions about the merits of scientific research in this discipline. He considered the situation in educational research to be in disarray, because inquiry was fragmented and lacking systematic attack on related problems. There was little in the way of replication, improving, or building on others' work. He explained that this state of affairs was the direct consequence of the abandonment of scientific research. Security, respectability, and stability in educational administration could only be achieved if the traditional model of the natural sciences were strictly adhered to. For Hoy, scientific research involved the systematic and critical empirical investigation of hypothetical propositions, based on the assumption that the nature of reality is ultimately material and knowledgeable. He raised a question, which reflected a concern often voiced by those who have devoted their professional lives to the pursuit of knowledge through empirical investigation;

"if we give up this tool, this way of knowing things, . . . , what will we have in its place?" (p. 3). For Hoy and scholars of like mind, the prospect of researching a social world, composed of multiple negotiated realities, without the reassuring standard practices of natural science, was extremely disconcerting.

Summary: Is Accommodation Possible?

The two main paradigms in the current debate about research in educational administration, have been described in some detail. On the one side are members of the interpretive paradigm, claiming a world of social reality which is distinct and separate from that of the physical world. This has led them to reject the epistemological and methodological foundations, claimed by their opponents in the positivist paradigm. In their own defense "traditional" scholars have claimed that casting them as positivists was naive and unjust. Despite this, they have continued to extol the merits of procedures which positivists have claimed lead to verification. In the view of some interpretivists, such attitudes represent a rejection of the title, positivism, but acceptance of the tenets.

Between these two opposing factions, a middle ground has developed, composed of scholars calling for accommodation of the paradigms (Reichardt & Cook, 1979; Miles & Huberman, 1984; LeCompte & Goetz, 1982). They believe that more emphasis should be paid "to whether or not useful information is being generated than to following a particular form of inquiry" (Griffiths, 1983, p. 219).

Guba (1985), presented several verses of what he termed "the siren song" sung by those encouraging accommodation. First, the "mix and match ballad" suggested that the two paradigms are complementary, and may be used side by side with synergistic effects. Second, the "straw man symphony" claimed that the distinctions between paradigms amount to nothing more than distinctions between methods. As Guba observed, once the discussion is reduced to these terms. ". . . it is easy to dispose of the conflict and achieve resolution" (p. 96). Third, the "fix to fit fugue" claimed that the phenomenological paradigm is a special case of the conventional paradigm, but needs "fixing-up" to fit the parameters of the latter.

Guba asserted that such attempts at accommodation have been made by people who have neglected the distinction between epistemological paradigm and methodology. He observed that those in the conventional paradigm have shifted some way to recognize the phenomenon of reactivity, and subject-object dualism, an assumption once central to positivism. Means such as quasi experimental designs and unobtrusive measures have been constructed to deal with such issues. To account for such factors as time and context, multiple regression, multivariate analysis, path analysis, and other techniques of modern statistics, seem ideal means to the positivist mind for handling the contextual difficulties which plague the analyst. Guba offered the following comment on such attempts at accommodation:

> The agreement seems simply to be this: If inquiry is designed in such a way as to enlarge the scope of variables considered, thereby accounting for more and more contextual influences, then the newer statistics are quite competent to take context into

> account and yield conclusions that can be considered general laws. But of course this approach ignores the fact that phenomena are not only influenced by the factors of time and context but derive their very meaning from them [emphasis original]. It is this order of independence that statistics cannot now and never will be able to handle. (1985, p. 100)

Another indicator of the attempts at accommodation in Guba's view, was the large number of recent articles explaining how values impinge on inquiry. Values were said to guide the selection of a problem, a theory, a method, and a means of analysis and interpretation. He believed that an attempt was being made to convince us that modern positivists understood and accounted for the role of values. Guba was however, skeptical that a substantive change of heart had occurred:

> Empirically, there is still no evidence that positivist inquiries do take them into account; we see no reflective accounts in their reports, and the reconstructed logic of their inquiries which they present in the methodological sections, still hews the traditional line. (1985, p. 100)

Guba, a well respected and widely known scholar of educational administration, spent the majority of his career within the positivist paradigm. In this article however, he rejected this world view, and was somewhat cynical of those scholars calling for accommodation. He made his position quite clear ". . . I believe (despite some opinions I expressed in earlier writing) that the naturalistic paradigm is the paradigm of choice on fittingness grounds whenever human/social/cultural inquiry is at issue" (1985, p. 95).

Summary and Conclusion

Two possible explanations were presented for the equivocal evidence on participative management. First, the research designs contained serious flaws and deficiencies, which made it very difficult to formulate generalizations. Second, despite the fact that research in social theory, and particularly participative management, has been dominated by positivism, the epistemological assumptions of the interpretive paradigm are more appropriate. The discovery of equivocal evidence was due to incorrect assumptions about the nature of social phenomena. The more general debate over paradigms has had considerable repercussions within the relatively young discipline of educational administration, throwing it into a state of "intellectual turmoil" in the view of Griffiths (1979).

At the core of the debate have been fundamental questions: "Are the ideals of the most highly developed natural sciences appropriate for guiding study in a field of professional practice? Are natural and human phenomena so alike that the same epistemology can be effective in advancing inquiry in the two domains?" (Culbertson, 1981, p. 41). Scholars like T. Barr Greenfield, would respond to both questions in the negative. In contrast, scholars like Donald Willower and Wayne K. Hoy would respond to both questions in the affirmative, with certain reservations. The responses an individual gives to these questions has a major impact upon the way theory and research in organizations is perceived.

The chapter opened with the statement that it was extremely difficult to predict the likely outcomes of participative management based on the empirical evidence. Explanations of this inconclusive research, depend upon the epistemological paradigm adopted. From a traditional, positivist paradigm specific studies could be identified which exhibited any or all of the following deficiencies: absence, or poor operational definitions of terms; inappropriate choice of instrument or task; inappropriate context, that is, poor internal validity; poor external validity; little or no evidence of reliability; and possibility of contamination by the researcher, or other extraneous variables. The conclusion to be drawn therefore, is that the evidence is inconclusive because researchers have failed to observe the strict procedures of scientific inquiry. There is cause for hope however, that more rigorous, disciplined research will eventually lead to predictive generalizations about participative management:

> Practiced rigorously or honestly, scientific research can be embedded in any culture or any time and produce reliable findings. Sometimes the findings may be wrong. The theory may be in error, the instruments poor, the design inadequate. Still, when the findings are added to the pool of information, <u>further testing, further inquiry</u> [emphasis added] will refine the gold from the dross. We should not lose faith in our ability eventually to understand a great deal about organizations. (Hoy, 1978, p. 3)

Accepting the axioms of the interpretive paradigm generates significantly different explanation:

> We finally have understood that it is impossible to be neutral--or objective--about our investigations, our experiments, our methods, or our rational processes. Objectivity as a pursuit in empirical investigations turns

> out to be a chimera, a Holy Grail, an illusion, and a snare. (Schwartz & Ogilvy, in Lincoln, 1985, p. 35)

In essence, unlike the positivist whose explanations rest upon violations of methodological procedures, interpretive analysis rests on epistemological and ontological issues. An advocate of the interpretive paradigm would probably postulate that the pursuit of "facts" and subsequent generalizations, about participative management was doomed to fail from the outset, since it was based upon the false promise that such facts existed to be discovered.

The two explanations provided are based on the presupposition that the positivist and interpretive paradigms represent distinct and separate conceptual positions. As such they ". . . define fundamentally different perspectives for the analysis of social phenomena. They approach this endeavor from contrasting standpoints and generate quite different concepts and analytical tools" (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 23). This author believes the positivist and interpretive paradigms to be mutually exclusive, each offering an alternative view of reality. Burrell and Morgan (1979) explained that it is impossible to synthesize paradigms, since in pure forms they are contradictory, being based on at least one set of opposing theoretical assumptions. It is possible to operate in different paradigms sequentially over time; it is impossible to do so at any one point in time; ". . . since in accepting the assumptions of one, we defy the assumptions of all others" (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 25).

This author believes that the interpretive paradigm provides the most convincing explanation for the equivocal empirical evidence at the present time. In so doing, one rejects the possibility of formulating generalizations about the effects of participative management, though the development and application of more sophisticated research methodologies. Rejecting such a possibility provokes an important question: What is the future of participative management for both scholars and practitioners of educational administration? Or, put differently, if the benefits of participative management cannot be empirically demonstrated, are there other reasons why managers should adopt such practices?

CHAPTER VI

PARTICIPATIVE MANAGEMENT: PHILOSOPHICAL ISSUES

Introduction

The previous chapters have presented an analysis of a considerable body of conceptual and empirical literature on participative management. This chapter will summarize the major issues. Philosophical connotations of participative management will be considered: democratic theory, moral leadership, participation and the social character, participation and schools: The chapter will close with a conclusion about the evidence supporting and opposing participative management.

Summary

Publication of "A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century" by the Carnegie Foundation, 1986, brought the issue of teacher participation in school management to the forefront of education debate. A similar notion was woven through the fabric of the "Effective Schools Research," which stressed the importance of shared purpose and common vision which existed in purportedly effective schools. The issue of worker participation has also been a topic of discussion and legislation in many Western European countries, notably Yugoslavia and West Germany. American business executives, eager to maintain a competitive position in world markets, have eagerly embraced the Quality Circles concept, a form of worker participation widely utilized in Japan. In short, the concept of worker participation is a contemporary issue, both within

the American economy, and between the major economies of the world. Despite the great interest in participative management, ". . . almost everyone who employs the term thinks of something different" (Locke & Schweiger, 1979, p. 117). Conway (1984) acknowledged the significance of the concept and was considered its implications for education. The author stated "The need to clarify the status of the knowledge about participation is more pressing than ever before. It is an area of management that begs for more systematic attention both through research and analysis" (p. 12).

The concept of participative management represents a stage in the evolution of management thought. At the turn of the century, classical theorists developed an organizational model based upon a hierarchy of authority, division of labor, and rigid rules and procedures. The worker was viewed as an extension of the machine, and every employee was expected to obey orders and decisions without question. As researchers became more aware of the influence of the informal organization and social relations on worker behavior, managers began to appreciate the importance of addressing worker's needs. Following investigations at the Hawthorne Plant of the Western Electric Company, and later theories of worker motivation by Maslow (1954) and Herzberg, Mausner, and Snyderman (1959), advocates of the Human Relations Movement, strongly supported worker participation in decision making. The advent of the systems view, stressed the dynamics nature of organizations and their need to respond to changes in the environment. There also came a realization

that the alleged existence of a universally effective structure and management style was a fallacy. During the past two decades there has been a growing acknowledgement that some degree of participative management is both necessary and desirable. A number of different participative management models have been developed (Sashkin, 1984a; Vroom & Yetton, 1973), yet the majority of authors agree that ". . . the establishment of effective and stable group participation in organizations represents and requires a relatively profound culture shift, involving changes in the roles of managers and work groups, development of new skills, increased lateral and vertical integration, . . . and increased team work" (Mohrman & Ledford, 1985, p. 423).

Scholars have developed a variety of approaches when reviewing the empirical research on participative management (e.g., Dachler & Wilpert, 1978; Melcher, 1976; Greenberg, 1975; Lowin, 1968). The framework developed by Locke and Schweiger (1979), produced, in Hoy's (1984) opinion "the most recent and quite extensive critical overview." Using a purposefully selected cross-section of studies this author analyzed research evidence categorized in four sub-sections: laboratory studies, correlational field studies, mulitvariate experimental field studies, and controlled experimental studies. Although the laboratory provided an environment in which researchers could control extraneous variables, doubts exist over the internal and external validity of the results. As a body, the correlational studies contained fewer limitations. Certain studies

were of questionable value due to vague operational definitions and measurement of dependent variables (Schuler, 1977; Stagner, 1969; Ley, 1966). In contrast, other researchers described in detail their assumptions and procedures, and formulated conclusions which were substantiated by the results (Lischeron & Wall, 1975a; Alutto & Acito, 1974; Mullen, 1965). As with all correlational studies, it is important to remember that causality should not be inferred between dependent and independent variables which demonstrated a statistically significant relationship. The multivariate studies provided the most complete and thorough descriptions of any of the research reviewed. It was evident that these investigations occurred over extended periods of time, using multiple data gathering techniques. It was impossible to determine the relative effect of participation in decision making, since a number of additional independent variables had frequently been manipulated simultaneously. The controlled field experiments were the most convincing in terms of internal and external validity. In addition, causality could be inferred, providing a sound base upon which to generalize. Unfortunately the results were equivocal, with studies demonstrating the effectiveness and ineffectiveness of participation in relation to productive efficiency and satisfaction.

Based upon the limitations inherent in a great deal of this research, caution should be exercised before attempting to generalize, and make recommendations for practice. This author

concurs with Locke and Schweiger: "The consistency with which the results of PDM studies fail to show any clear trend. . . . leads to only one possible conclusion--there is a great deal we do not yet know about the conditions under which PDM will work" (1979, p. 316).

A far smaller body of literature exits concerning participative management in educational organizations. Anderson (1959), in a review of research into the effects of autocratic and democratic leadership, conducted during the previous twenty years concluded there was no conclusive evidence supporting democratic (participative) leadership on the grounds of improved student performance. Alutto and Belasco (1972) possibly made the most significant contribution to the field of research into participation in schools. They conceived participation as a continuum ranging from "deprivation," through "equilibrium," to "saturation." They explained that every individual had "actual" and "desired" levels of participation in decision making. By determining the difference between these two levels it would be possible to place an individual teacher on the continuum. They discovered that teachers who believed themselves decisionally deprived (level of actual participation below the desired level) recorded significantly lower levels of job satisfaction than did teachers in either of the other two decision conditions.

Riley (1984) found that teachers desired greater participation in decision making at all levels: classrooms, building, district.

Despite these desires, the level of deprivation was not a reliable indicator of utilization of available decision channels. This discovery prompted the question of how could administrators accommodate desires to participate? Despite the fact that teachers considered the potential benefits of participation to exceed potential costs, Duke, Showers, and Imber (1980) discovered that teachers were generally unwilling to participate. They were skeptical of their ability to "realize" the potential benefits, citing past experiences of involvement without influence.

Based on the review of empirical evidence, what generalizations may be formulated about the affects of participation in decision making in educational organizations? This question was answered by Imber and Duke (1984), in a forceful statement on the state of knowledge about the affects of participation: "Empirical investigations have not produced consistent, unambiguous, findings sufficient to guide practice . . ." (p. 25).

Explanations of the equivocal empirical evidence are necessarily influenced by the epistemological paradigm adopted. From the traditional positivist paradigm which has supported educational administration theory from its inception, the explanation is clear. Due to the combined effects of poor instrumentation, inadequate operational definitions, and low internal and external validity, it is impossible to develop predictive generalizations about participative management. All is not lost for the positivist however, "Practiced rigorously or honestly, scientific research

can be embedded in any culture or any time, and produce reliable findings" (Hoy, 1978, p. 3). The answer therefore, is more disciplined research.

From the interpretive paradigm, the explanation for the inconclusive findings would be somewhat different. Scholars who hold this world view believe that organizations are merely the constructed reality of the members. As a consequence, it is impossible, even with the most sophisticated research design, to identify the "facts" about participation in decision making. The meaning of "participation" would vary from one organization to another according to the experiences of the participants. For the interpretivist therefore, the discovery of inconclusive empirical evidence was inevitable from the outset.

Philosophical Connotations of Participation in Decision Making

If one adopts the interpretive paradigm, then one rejects the possibility of justifying participation in decision making through standard practices of inquiry. In this case the scholar and practitioner of educational administration should engage in reasoned dialogue and rational argument over the philosophical connotations of the concept. This author will open such a debate by presenting some significant issues, consideration of which is important because, "No issue in the field of organizational behavior and industrial relations is more loaded with ideological and moral connotations than that of employee participation in decision making" (Greenberg, 1975, p. 201).

Democratic Theory

Several authors have referred to various theories, value orientations, or ideologies as the origins for issues of participation in decision making (Greenberg, 1975; Walker, 1974; Pateman, 1970; Strauss & Rosenstein, 1970). Dachler and Wilpert (1978) distinguished four major theory orientations for participation: democratic, socialist, human growth and development, and productivity or efficiency (See Chapter Two). This author will consider specifically the participatory tradition within democratic theory.

Riley (1981) observed that despite the "ferocious attack" mounted by contemporary social science against hopeful, optimistic, and naive notions of democracy, "The more traditional conception of democracy continues to reassert itself. . ." (p. 48). Contemporary writers (Osbun, 1985; Vanek, 1971; Pateman, 1970; Thompson, 1970) have presented convincing arguments for the centrality of participation to democracy.

The term democracy invokes a variety of images. This author operationally defines democracy as ". . . that system of community government, in which, by and large, the members of a community participate, or may participate, directly or indirectly, in the making of decisions which affect them all" (Osbun, 1985, p. 47). Referring to writers including Rousseau, Mill, and Cole, Osbun (1985) and Pateman (1970) presented assumptions upon which "classical" democratic theory is based. First, it is assumed that

the citizenry are informed, active, and interested in participation. Second, a "common good" exists which every person will come to appreciate through education and rational argument. Third, in principle, through discussion the common good will become the "common will," to be expressed through political participation by the general population. In view of these assumptions, a central premise of democracy is that individuals and their institutions cannot be regarded in isolation from one another. To facilitate maximum participation by the citizenry at the national level, socialization for democracy must occur in other spheres of society. The development of necessary individual attitudes and psychological qualities for the maintenance of democracy is achieved through the process of participation. As Pateman stated: "The major function of participation in the theory of participatory democracy is therefore an educative one . . . including both the psychological aspect and the gaining of practice in democratic skills and procedures" (p. 42). The importance of participation at all levels of society was emphasized. ". . . for a democratic policy to exist it is necessary for a participatory society to exist, i.e., a society where all political systems have been democratized and socialization through participation can take place in all areas" (Pateman, 1970, p. 43).

This conception of democracy with it emphasis on direct participation has been criticized by contemporary writers (e.g., Schumpeter, Berelson, Dahl). Osbun (1985) referred to these critics

as "revisionists," because they accepted the concept of democracy but challenged the basic assumptions upon which it was based. These scholars denied the existence of a common will, suggesting instead that the common good means different things to different people. They also believed that the citizenry lacks interest in political affairs demonstrated by low levels of motivation for political participation. In addition, citizens lack sufficient knowledge about political issues, consequently voting decisions are not based on rational judgment but primarily on group affiliations. Despite these short comings, revisionists were still convinced that democracy could "work" in contemporary society: it merely needed revision.

Revisionists charged that vesting decision making powers in the electorate was misguided. The role of the people should be to choose leaders through open, competitive elections, to whom would be entrusted decision making authority. Osbun explained that some revisionists believed that continued democratic stability depended upon the active involvement of a minority with high political skill. He emphasized the importance of continued indifference to participation by stating: "If the apathetic average citizen were forced to participate in more than the selection of qualified leaders, the existing political system would be undermined" (1985, p. 14). In the view of many revisionists, "It may be the feeling of participation rather than any concrete result, which matters to many people" (Osbun, 1985, p. 15).

Peter Bachrach (cited in Osbun, 1985) has been an ardent critic of the revisionist conception of democracy. He contended that revisionists overlooked the value of political participation to individual development:

> Democracy should not be viewed simply as a method for selecting elite decision makers and for checking or restraining the actions of that elite. This means that public interest must be measured, not only by the "soundness of the decisions reached in the light of the needs of the community" but also "by the scope of public participation in reaching them". In a democracy the effects of involvement in the decision making process should be considered as important as the effects of the decisions themselves. (p. 43)

Critics challenged the revisionist view of democracy as purely a means of making decisions, and emphasized the significance of participation for the development of human community. Bachrach addressed the issue of low participation frequently cited by revisionists as justification for their conception of democracy. He explained that the absence of a direct link between the participatory act of voting, and subsequent public policy decisions, is a low incentive for participation. Acknowledging that it may not be technically possible for every citizen in society to participate, Bachrach stated that it did not follow "that because a political criterion cannot be fulfilled it should be discarded" (p. 45). He believed that classical democracy provided an "ideal" model, against which existing political systems may be judged, and toward which a free people may strive. By modifying certain structures and processes within society, Bachrach felt it would be possible to develop a society which recognized the value of citizen

participation in decision making. He stated "If men and women are given a choice to participate directly in decision-making in the very places where they spend most of their time, the base of political participation in society will be broadened greatly" (p. 46). Since the issues which would be raised at work would directly affect the employees, they would have a greater motivation to become involved.

Pateman (1970) studied the relationship between participation in the workplace and other non-governmental spheres, and participation at the wider national level. Based on empirical evidence from studies of political behavior and attitudes, Pateman concluded that participation in non-governmental authority structures was necessary to foster the psychological qualities (i.e., the sense of political efficacy) required for participation at the national level. The author also concluded that development of a sense of competence and political efficacy was greatly influenced by the authority structure of an individual's work environment. The more restrictive the work environment over employees' abilities to exercise initiative and leadership, the lower their sense of political efficacy.

Based on this brief description of some major issues in democratic theory, the author supports the purposed relationship between participation at an institutional level and democracy at a national level. Assuming that classical democratic theorists are correct, teachers and administrators should practice participation since "it is an essential means to the development of individual

capacities" (Osbun, 1985, p. 42). If a major "purpose" of schools is to prepare students to be contributing members of society and upholders of the political system, then surely it is important for them to be exposed to a system in which adults participate and observe the principles of democracy. Riley (1981) quoted John Dewey whose words certainly support this contention:

> The foundation of democracy is faith in the capacities of human nature; faith in human intelligence and in the power of pooled cooperative experience. It is not belief that these things are complete but that if given a chance will grow and be able to generate progressively the knowledge and wisdom needed to guide collective action. (p. 47)

It is difficult to envision how children can develop the attitudes necessary for the maintenance of democracy if their formative years are spent in organizations with rigid bureaucratic structures, where decisions are made by authoritarian administrators.

Moral Leadership

The author has deliberately avoided the concept of leadership in this dissertation. A major reason for this decision was the fact that the literature on this topic is even more voluminous, and more confusing than that concerning participative management. At this point however, it is important to consider briefly the concept of "moral leadership," since there are close connections with the concept of participation.

James MacGregor Burns (1978) in a book entitled Leadership, conducted an interdisciplinary study of several historical personalities and political leaders. Drawing from the disciplines of history, political science, and psychology Burns described the

careers of significant historical figures ranging from Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther, and Mao Tse-tung to Franklin Roosevelt, Lyndon Johnson, and Richard Nixon. Through analysis of the thoughts and actions of these characters, Burns formulated a definition of leadership. He explained that some writers view leadership as the act of motivating followers to behave according to the leaders wishes. His conception of leadership was quite different:

> I define leadership as leaders inducing followers to act for certain goals that represent the values and the motivations--the wants and needs, the aspirations and expectations--<u>of both leaders and followers</u>. The genius of leadership lies in the manner in which leaders see and act on their own and their followers values and motivations. (p. 19)

Burns viewed leadership as a reciprocal relationship between leader and followers, involving interactions between persons with different levels of motivations and of power potential, in pursuit of common or at least joint purpose. He explained that such interactions typically took one of two forms:

Transactional Leadership: occurred when one person took the initiative in making contact with others for the exchange of a valued thing (e.g., the trading of votes between politicians and voters, or the swapping of goods for money). The bargainers had no enduring purpose which held them together.

Transformational Leadership: occurred when one or more persons engaged with others in such a way that leaders and followers raised one another to higher levels of motivation and morality. The purpose of those concerned may have been separate but related at the outset, however through such leadership they become fused.

Burns believed that transformational leadership was the "higher form of leadership," since ". . . transformational leadership ultimately becomes moral in that it raises the level of human conduct and ethical aspiration of both leader and led, and thus it has a transforming effect on both" (1978, p. 20). He described, in some detail, the behavior which characterized such moral leaders. They discerned signs of dissatisfaction, deprivation, and strain, and took the initiative in making connections with followers. They articulated grievances and wants, and acted for followers in their dealings with other clusters of followers. When they detected conflict they would confront it, adopting various roles, sometimes acting directly for their followers, sometimes bargaining with others, and sometimes overriding certain motives of followers and summoning others into play. Such leaders strove constantly to meet the needs and wants of followers and make them consonant with his or her own desires and values. Burns stated: "The ultimate test of moral leadership is its capacity to transcend the claims of the multiplicity of everyday wants and needs and expectations, to respond to the higher levels of moral development . . . ." (p. 41). Such higher levels of moral development were characterized by near universal ethical principles of justice, including equality of human rights and respect for individual dignity. Given the moral implications of leadership, he recommended three criteria be employed to evaluate it. First, to what extent did the leadership advance or thwart fundamental standards of good conduct? Second, to what

extent were the end values of equality and justice furthered? Third, what impact did the leader have upon the well-being of the persons whose lives he or she touched? Burns closed his book with a provocative suggestion, "In real life the most practical advice for leaders is not to treat pawns like pawns, princes like princes, but all persons, like persons" (p. 462).

There seem to be some close connections between this concept of leadership as a moral activity, and the classical theory of participatory democracy described previously. Burns stressed the importance of exercising leadership in such a way that those involved were moved to higher levels of moral development. Classical democracy emphasized the vital educational function served by participation, and its contribution to the development of individual human beings and the human community. This author believes that participation in decision making and moral leadership as defined by Burns are synonymous. It is difficult to comprehend how the development of common purpose and the reciprocal relationship of leader to follower, could be achieved through any means beside participation.

Despite Burns' call for moral leadership, Roberts (1984) believed that a certain discomfort arose when the words management (a term he used to signify leadership) and moral were used in the same context. "The words seem to belong to different spheres of practice; morality belonging perhaps to the private sphere of our lives--to the realm of our immediate personal relationships,

'management' to the realm of public affairs" (p. 287). For most managers, pursuit of the survival and growth of the "organization as a whole", is assumed to be the moral basis of their actions. Their immediate practices are judged not by reference to moral standards or criteria, but merely in terms of the effectiveness with which they secure these ends. "It is in this way that management practice comes to be seen as a purely technical activity involving the rational pursuit of the most efficient means for securing given ends" (p. 289).

Roberts challenged this "neutral-technical" image of management. To support his position he cited MacIntyre (1981) who asserted that pursuit of effectiveness inevitably provokes moral implications. MacIntyre stated that a managers effectiveness depended upon "his or her ability to manipulate other human beings into compliant modes of behavior" (p. 289). Such manipulation was a moral issue. He proceeded to criticize social science because it had been largely responsible for such manipulation, offering "itself as a body of predictive knowledge of 'human nature' which can be employed by managers in the form of a set of techniques with which to enhance the effectiveness of their manipulation of staff" (p. 289). Based on possession of such knowledge individuals have claimed they possessed distinctively managerial expertise, and so legitimate their use of power. MacIntyre was convinced however, that management was a question of morality, and not expertise due to "the absence

of the discovery of any law-like generalizations whatsoever" (p. 288).

Roberts (1984) explained that despite the fact that managers might wish to be seen as objective technicians, their personal beliefs and concerns inevitably had a major impact on the daily practice of managing. Based upon a longitudinal study conducted in a regional office of a national sales organization, Roberts concluded that despite the managers' desires to make the staff behave predictably this was an impossibility. Staff were able to see through the expertise of the managers, and comprehend the personal motives underlying their technical practices. Despite the managers attempts to avoid recognizing staff as people:

> . . . their actual interaction with staff nevertheless had the form of interdependent practices between "self conscious subjects". It is this interdependence of self conscious subjects that for me is the moral basis or condition of all social life, and yet it is precisely this interdependence that purely technical versions of management practice either ignore or seek to deny. (p. 299)

Managers, by presenting themselves as technical experts during encounters with staff, were ignorant of the expressive or communicative character of their own actions. They failed to appreciate that their intentions were communicated not only in what they said, but also in what they did. Staff judged managers, in terms of the degree of correspondence between their words and actions.

The author felt that paradoxically, managers' adoption of instrumental attitudes toward staff and attempts at greater control

through use of social science techniques, actually undermined their effectiveness. Staff, detecting the managers' attitudes through interactions, adopted reciprocal instrumental attitudes of their own, attempting to reassert their sense of being in control. This individualism was informed and reproduced through further manipulation and coercion. Roberts (1984) commented:

> For me individualistic action, building as it does upon the assumption of the essential independence of self and others, is increasingly inappropriate to the reality of the complex interdependence of action which is organization. It is individualism which turns organizational life into a series of vicious circles of control and resistance between individuals and groups, and, thereby, increasingly diverts energy, resources, and attention away from the realization of the productive potential of organized relationships. (p. 301)

Based on his research, Roberts was convinced of the inadequacy of technical versions of management practice. Due to the communicative character of interactions between managers and staff it is important to develop moral forms of social control, grounded in intersubjectively negotiated and shared understanding. To achieve this:

> . . . what is required is a form of <u>practice</u> in which there is a mutual recognition of one another as interdependent subjects, each recognizing his or her dependence on others' actions, whilst at the same time recognizing the freedom of action of others. (p. 301)

This author endorses the view expressed by Roberts, that far from denying the moral character of management practice, it must be acknowledged, if generally effective organizations are to be developed. To practice such moral management, it will be essential to encourage and value participation from all organizal members.

Participation and the Social Character

Michael Macoby (1981) in his book The leader: A new face for American management, contended that a new model of leadership was necessary to bring out the best in the evolving social character of the country. He described the social character in terms of an aggregate of traits, values, and behaviors, manifested in the thoughts, actions, and feelings of a group, class, culture, or nation. He presented the opinion that the social character has changed during the last 350 years of American history, as manifested by different conceptions of the "work ethnic" at different points in time. Each conception produced a different model of leadership best suited to the social character of the age. He was convinced that leadership models which served well in the past were not suited to bring out the best in the evolving social character in the industrialized democracies of the world.

The first conception of the work ethic presented by Macoby was the "Protestant Ethic." The social character shaped by this ethic stressed a religious imperative, with hard work viewed as a means of bringing glory to God. Emphasis was placed upon disciplined, self-righteous individualism. The second ethic was advanced by Benjamin Franklin. This "Craft Ethic" suited the experimental self-improving America of the late 18th century. The ethic nurtured virtues of temperance, order, frugality, industry, moderation, and humility. A social character emerged oriented almost totally to individualistic craft and farm production.

Franklin's ethic served well an era of economic and technological independence. The third work ethic emerged during the early 19th century with the acceleration of the Industrial Revolution. Exploitation of resources and technology prompted the appearance of a new social character and new type of leader. To promote growth in the country which would benefit everyone, the "Entrepreneurial Ethic" saw the emergence of leaders with business skills and toughness, determined to build industries and survive competition. As opportunities to start new small businesses diminished and large corporations developed, so the social character was shaped by the "Career Ethic." The talented and highly motivated were drawn to technological systems with complex managerial hierarchies. Success depended now on administrative rather than entrepreneurial skills. Success was measured in terms of an individual's ability to move up within a large organization and so acquire increased responsibility and status. During the 1950's some intellectuals blamed the new ethic for encouraging conformity, and producing a bland and soulless society. Companies they believed were becoming stagnant bureaucracies where careerists moved ahead by obeying the rules.

Macoby explained that the social character was changing once again, derived by a new "Self-Oriented Ethic." He believed that this character had positive and negative traits. If the positive traits were to be developed, a new model of leadership would be required. The positive traits of the new social character included emphasis on personal growth and development through life long

learning; development of improved health and dietary habits; search for enriching experiences; questioning mind unwilling to accept orders blindly, demanding good reasons; concern for human dignity based on mutual respect and voluntary cooperation; commitment to organizations run on principles of equity. In the absence of appropriate leadership Macoby feared domination by the negative traits leading to a social character characterized by undisciplined self indulgence, alienation and exchange of disloyalty for advancement, cynical rebelliousness with determination to gain as much as possible while sacrificing as little as possible.

To facilitate development of positive traits in the social character Macoby described a new model of leadership based on detailed portraits of six leaders at different levels in different organizations. All of these present day leaders exhibited attitudes and behaviors which Macoby believed would be vital for the leaders of the future. Each leader exhibited to a greater or lesser degree the following characteristics: a caring, respectful and responsible attitude; a sensitivity to peoples striving for dignity and self-development; a flexible attitude toward organizational structure and people; a willingness to experiment and change the former to serve a worthwhile purpose; a participative approach to management, showing a willingness and eagerness to share power for the benefit of all concerned.

This author made it quite clear that due to changes in society, changes must occur in the leadership being employed in organizations.

To be successful organizational members must be able to function as interdependent teams. Consequently, leadership must exist at all levels within the organizational structure, not to tell employees what they must do, but to create the conditions under which they can solve problems and make decisions for themselves. As Macoby stated, when everyone is prepared to manage themselves and their job, leadership becomes a valued resource that enhances individual power by consensus and education, rather than a feared control mechanism that limits personal discretion by force. Since schools play such an important role in shaping children's attitudes, it is very important that they be educated within a system which nurtures the positive traits of the emerging social character. In light of Macoby's work, this author believes that a participative approach to management is necessary to meet this end.

Robert Bellah (1981) is another scholar who has reflected upon the nature of contemporary Western society and speculated about its future. He explained that anthropologists and sociologists, when studying different cultures, have frequently considered the modern West as the most advanced culture, and considered it the task of other less developed cultures to "catch up." This tendency however, has been changing, as scholars have noted that our society has an enormous capacity and seemingly enormous desire for self destruction, totally lacking in many "backward" cultures. Skeptics have started to question why, if we are three, five, ten times richer than our great grandparents, are we not three, five, ten times happier or

more content, or more richly developed as human beings. Bellah commented, "The civilizational malaise, in brief, reflects the inability of a civilization directed to material improvement to satisfy the human spirit" (p. 499).

The author identified the ideas, sentiments, and opinions which he considered to be at the core of our malaise, referring to "radical secular individualism and its accompanying egalitarianism" (Bellah, 1981, p. 500). The ideology of the West which permeates its economy, political systems, and the way we organize our private lives, is founded on the assumption of the biological individual being the only human truth. Bellah felt that we live in a social system which tells us in the daily practice of life that we are alone, we are to pursue our own interests, and that neither anyone or anything can save us except ourselves. Despite full stomachs and material comfort, our souls are empty and our lives barren of meaning. Research suggests that many Americans experience psychic isolation at work. Bellah explained that this was caused because work lacks the articulation with a larger organic society which often exists in other cultures and civilizations. "Above all work does not provide a way to tie one into larger structures of meaning and participation" (p. 501). Ironically, what our rich society lacked, was what many "backward" cultures possessed, namely, the round of meaningful action which ties members into society, nature, and the cosmos. For westerners nature and society have become cold, lifeless, and abstract. Bellah believed that in order to function

and alleviate the deadness of daily life, an increasing emphasis is being placed by middle class Americans on purely private inner experience and selfhood. Bellah felt however, that it was an ". . . absolutely empty self . . . " (p. 502) and stated:

> If then we are not moving into a Utopia of human happiness and fulfillment, if indeed our society is less and less capable of giving people a sense of meaning about who they are in relation to the world in which they live, then pretty clearly our culture is not the measure for all the other cultures that have ever been. (p. 503)

As a response to the individualizatism and consequent isolationism of our culture, Bellah called for "moral ecology," implying not only interdependence but standards, priorities, and directions of choice which were not private or relativistic. To change the direction of our drift toward death:

> We must nourish every element of coherent culture and community that is still alive among us. Only coherent persons in coherent relation to one another can challenge the drift to catastrophe in the midst of which we live. There never has been and there never will be a society of pure atomistic individuals. (Bellah, 1981, p. 506)

Deetz (1985) was another author who reflected upon the effect of peoples experiences in organizations on broader society. He stated, "The workplace culture has important if not easily specifiable effects on the human character and the wider culture" (p. 255). He continued, "organizations help us to define what it is to be a human being. . ." (p. 356). Organizational practices had a major effect on human development, and anything which influenced the continued formation or deformation of the human character had ethical implications, in Deetz's opinion. The author

believed that modern society was composed of organizations for whom pursuit of economic goals was the end to which all other goals were subservient. Relying upon technical rationality, people have been manipulated and controlled in the interests of productivity and organizational survival. "Meaningful work, participation in decision making, and the growth and development of personnel have rarely been treated as goals in themselves" (p. 262). Such concepts have had to be justified in terms of their potential contribution to economic gain: little consideration has been given to human development as an end in itself.

Deetz acknowledged that to some commentators, ethical concerns with human development might seem like the imposition of extrarational values on a necessarily rational production process. He suggested however, that organizational decision making was rarely based solely on technical rationality. Echoing sentiments voiced by MacIntyre (1981) and Roberts (1984), he believed that organizational decisions were frequently influenced as much or more by the perceived effects on managers personal interests, as by any determinable relation to profit or productivity. Accepting the fact that the roles adopted by organizational actors generated vested interests and intergroup conflict, he observed that the full variety of interests were rarely represented in organizational decision making. Deetz stated, ". . . managerial interests dominate organizations by dominating not only the decision process but also the criteria for determining the quality of decisions" (1985, p.

264). The ethical concern it raised was not that managers as a group made decisions that were intentionally or carelessly detrimental to the development of the human community, however, "The singular representation of any sectional interest cuts off many voices that are essential for the human dialogue. . ." (p. 265). What was most alarming from Deetz's point of view, was that few people questioned managers ability to make decisions on economic issues, let alone their competence to make decisions regarding the full variety of human interests. Managerial logic had been internalized by other potential participants, with contrary conceptions rarely thought of and less often voiced. The result, Deetz believed, was ideologically based decision making in organizations with one sided effects on the development of the human community.

The domination of the work place by technical and managerial interests created systematic distortions in human development. In light of this Deetz posed the following ethical questions: "If we innovate in this way, if we manage in this way, if we create this kind of product, what kind of people will we become?" (1985, p. 257). "Do we as a society like or want to be what current organizational practices recommend for us? Is there anyway we or anyone else can have a say in the matter? In what ways is wider representation possible?" (p. 267).

To summarize, Deetz (1985), Macoby (1981), and Bellah (1981) all commented upon the relationship between life in contemporary

organizations and the effects on society at large. Macoby explained how the social character of many industrialized nations was currently evolving. He stressed the need for leaders who would employ participative management to facilitate the growth and development of employees, and in so doing strengthen the human community. Deetz stated directly that "Organizations help us to define what it is to be a human being. . ." (p. 256). Unfortunately contemporary organizations are characterized by decisions which although outwardly objective and technically rational, frequently represent the narrow self interests of managers. Bellah (1981) painted a very pessimistic picture of contemporary Western society, dominated by individualism and isolationism, "drifting toward catastrophe" (p. 506). The only hope he believed was for us to ". . . nourish every element of coherent culture and community that is still alive among us" (p. 506). The common thread which connected these three writers, and re-emphasized the credibility of classical democratic theory, was the need for participation by all members in organizations. Participation and significant interaction between worker and managers would move all parties, to use Burns' idea, to a higher moral level, and in so doing strengthen the human community. In the opinion of this author, given the important role which educational institutions play in the shaping of future society, here there exists a greater need and justification for such participation than in any other organizations.

Participation and Schools

Spencer Maxcy (1985) addressed many of the issues which have been raised in this chapter, in the context of schools and education. It is appropriate to end this dissertation with a detailed presentation of his opinions.

The author stated that there was a commonly held belief that educational administrators should be leaders, unfortunately there was no agreement as to the nature of leadership. One conception, equated leadership with administration, an activity reducible to specific skills and tasks. This view held that certain individuals were more able to master these skills than others, and consequently were better equipped to decide what was "right" in terms of ends as well as means. For advocates of this position, the suggestion of rule by majority was too dangerous, since those with expertise were in the best position to decide what was in the best interests of human beings at large. Democracy, for these people was reduced to a particular style of administration: a style they did not favor.

Maxcy did not agree with this conception of leadership, viewing it instead as a superordinate class of philosophic or intellectual insights. On the question of democracy, he felt it was far more than a style of decision making. He thought it was better to run the risk of wrong decisions, ". . . if we preserve the right of members of groups (like teachers) to play a role in that policy or decision" (1985, p. 11). His commitment to the importance of democracy and participation in schools was related to the effect which schools

as systems have on childrens' attitudes. To explain his point, Maxcy quoted the philosopher R. S. Peters:

> The point is that methods and forms of organization in schools can never just be regarded as ways of promising particular objectives. For schools are educational institutions, which means that everything that goes on must be regarded as something that can be learnt, as well as an aid to learning. Thus the authoritarian or business-like efficiency of the head [principal] cannot be looked on simply as aids or hindrances to learning. They also provide learning experiences for children on how to treat others. (p. 11)

The author also believed that participatory democracy provided an important guard against poor decision making, stemming from human fallibility. A democratic approach which emphasized the give and take of argument, and the free play of criticism, provided a structural recognition of such fallibility and value pluralism.

To add further weight to his argument that schools should be participatory organizations, Maxcy cited the philosopher John Dewey at some length. Dewey challenged the suggestion that researchers were all equipped to assume responsibility for making decisions which affected them. In fact he believed a great deal of initiative and creativity would be wasted if teachers were not encouraged to pool ideas and work cooperatively. Dewey claimed that if teachers were subjected to authoritarian treatment by administrators, they would be more likely to treat other students in a similar manner. He also emphasized the participatory nature of democracy. For democracy to be a way of life, it was necessary for every mature human being to participate in the formation of values that regulated their lives. Exclusion from participation in the shaping of social institutions,

". . . prevents individuals the opportunity to reflect and decide the methods and means by which subjects may arrive at the involvement of what is good for them . . . . Individuals suffer but so does the entire social body" (cited in Maxcy, 1985, p. 15). Dewey clarified the nature of such institutional participation, advocating equality of rights for every person to express personal judgments, while acknowledging the inevitable inequality of natural endowments. Consequently, while everyone should have the freedom to speak, ". . . the weight of his judgments may not be equal in amount when it enters into the pooled result to that of others" (Maxcy, p. 15).

Maxcy's views on the importance of participative decision making and democratic practices are most adequately summarized in his own words:

> . . . methods and forms of organization in schools can never be seen solely as the ways to achieve the ends of schooling. Rather they are part of the baggage that we find students taking with them when they leave schools. (1985, p. 13)

Conculsion

In this dissertation the author has analyzed conceptual, empirical, and philosophical literature on the concept of participative management. Now that the task is completed, the author could not support or oppose such practices in schools, based solely on the empirical evidence. If the criterion to be used when considering participation is effectiveness, then a great deal more research has yet to be conducted. If the criterion to be used however, is the maintenance and nurturance of the human community through the free flow of ideas and reasoned debate, then

this author believes that the philosophical arguments exist to support it. As Alan Smithson (1983) stated:

> Finally, democratic decision-making encourages and nurtures those developmental and educative effects on which a democratic society, if it is to progress rather than stagnate, must necessarily rely. Participatory decision making encourages intellectual growth and moral development, it enhances the decision-making skills of participants, and is thus in harmony with the essential purposes of schools in a democratic society. (p. 283)

Post-Script: Implications for Practice

The author noted in the introduction to this dissertation that the report of the Carnegie Foundation, 1986, stimulated renewed interest in teacher participation in school management. In light of the equivocal research evidence, and the likelihood that it will remain so, the author is not able to delineate definitive participative practices for educational administrators. Those considering participative management should take time to discuss the philosophical and epistemological issues raised in this dissertation. Embracing the interpretive paradigm, the author recommends that teachers and administrators in individual schools meet and develop "participative realities" appropriate for their particular context. This will be a difficult task. The following questions may serve as a guide for discussion:

1. What is the purpose of our organization?
2. What is the relationship between our school and society?
3. In what ways is the existing school structure conducive to the formation of meaningful relationships?

4. How do we conceptualize the term participative management?

5. To what extent, and in what ways, is our school a participative organization?

6. Should our school be a participative organization, and if so, for what reasons?

7. If we attempt to create a more participative organization, how would that affect our relationships with each other? How would pupils be affected?

8. What structures and processes would make our school more participative?

9. Who would participate and why?

10. What forms would participation take?

11. What responsibilities would accompany greater participation?

12. What would be some of the desired outcomes of greater participation?

13. What could be some of the difficulties associated with greater participation?

14. What would be the principal's role within the participative organization?

15. How would "our" participative organization be integrated with the existing bureaucratic structure?

16. Are we committed to the principle of participation, and determined to make it a reality in our school?

17. How will we know whether participation has become a reality?

These questions are <u>not</u> prescriptive. They are merely intended to provoke serious discussion of some critical issues associated with participative management. This author suggests that practitioners who address these specific questions be somewhat systematic. They should also view participation as an end in itself, and not as a means to some measurable objective. Without a belief in the right of people to participate, such discussions would be a charade.

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